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ABSTRACT

Many adult literacy programs invite their clients to become authors by articulating their life experiences, ideas, and opinions in writing that is published. Theoretical perspectives from feminist poststructuralism were used to determine what happened when clients were positioned as authors in light of their identities other than authors. The study focused on three literacy clients who interacted with each other and with tutors in adult basic education tutoring sessions and author's workshops in a public elementary school. An ethnographic approach was used to collect and analyze data, along with conversation analysis techniques from sociolinguistics. Identities from three categories--authorship, school, and family--were found to be prominent and interactive with each other. These identities were linked to five cultural discourses in operation at the elementary school: traditional education, liberal empowerment, therapeutic, welfare reform, and traditional marriage and family discourses. School identities, linked to the traditional education discourse, most often interacted with authorship identities, and welfare clients sometimes chose the student identity. Both the welfare reform and traditional education discourses interrupted the author identity. Implications for research include the power of feminist poststructuralist theory as an heuristic and a justification for researching liberatory classroom practices. Implications for practice include the advisability of putting authors' workshops in a community rather than school context and the use of feminist poststructuralist theory to reveal how clients and practitioners are discoursed so they can help make practices such as authors workshops actually, not just potentially, liberatory. (Contains 128 references.) (KC)

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ADULT LITERACY CLIENTS AS AUTHORS:
A FEMINIST POSTSTRUCTURALIST PERSPECTIVE

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED

by

SHARON WILLIAMSON SMITH

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September, 2000

School of Education

S. W. Smith

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ADULT LITERACY CLIENTS AS AUTHORS:
A FEMINIST POSTSTRUCTURALIST PERSPECTIVE

A Dissertation Presented

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ABSTRACT

ADULT LITERACY CLIENTS AS AUTHORS:
A FEMINIST POSTSTRUCTURALIST PERSPECTIVE

SEPTEMBER, 2000

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Many adult literacy programs, especially those seeking to address issues of equity and empowerment, invite their clients to become authors by articulating their life experiences, ideas, and opinions in talk and in writing that is published. Recent theorizing about identity raises issues about the empowering capacity of this widespread practice. To address these issues, I borrowed theoretical perspectives from feminist poststructuralism that allowed me to see what happened when clients were positioned as authors in light of positionings leading to salient identities other than author. These positionings were shaped by discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts.

The study focused on a small group of literacy clients who interacted with each other and with tutors in adult basic education tutoring sessions and Authors Workshops sited in a public elementary school in a New England city. I used an ethnographic approach to collect and analyze my data which was complemented by conversation analysis techniques borrowed from sociolinguistics. The theoretical perspective and the methodology enabled me to trace the moment-by-moment construction and interaction, through talk, of the various identities that became salient for participants.

Identities from three categories, Authorship, School, and Family, became salient and interacted with each other. These identities were linked to the five cultural discourses operating at the research site: the Traditional Education, Liberal Empowerment, Therapeutic, Welfare Reform, and Traditional Marriage and Family discourses. School identities, linked to the Traditional Education discourse, most often interacted with Authorship identities; however, it was not always in tutors' talk that the Traditional Education discourse expressed itself. Clients sometimes chose the student identity. Both the Welfare Reform and Traditional Education discourses interrupted the author identity as clients, lacking a high school diploma, felt thwarted in their job searches.

Implications of the study for research include the power of feminist poststructuralist theory as an heuristic and a justification for researching liberatory classroom practices. Implications for practice include the advisability of siting Authors Workshops in a community rather than school context and the use of feminist poststructuralist theory to reveal

how clients and practitioners are "discoursed" so they can, together, help make practices such as Authors Workshops actually, not just potentially liberatory.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

In industrialized countries like the United States, if a person cannot read and write he or she is widely considered deficient. Many "illiterate" people also view themselves as deficient, although not as many "illiterate" people feel this way as one might assume (see Fingeret, 1983). Clients of adult literacy programs who do feel deficient usually have to overcome a sense of shame or stigma in order to improve their literacy skills and change their lives. (For the purposes of this study, I use the term, "clients," to refer to the actual individual participants so as to reserve the term, "student," to use to refer to an identity that is taken up.) This sense of deficiency extends beyond an awareness of not having reading and writing skills. Both the culture and the client tend to view illiteracy as a more generalized deficit; this wider sense of deficiency seems to explain the profound shame felt by many who lack these skills.

One effective way to offset this sense of deficiency for literacy clients may be to value what they know and what they have to say, neither of which depend on having literacy skills, per se. I view positive valuation of this kind as having the potential to empower clients. It is an important component of the definition of author that I use for my study: authors have something to say worth reading by someone else. This study explores what happened when adult literacy clients were given opportunities to become authors, thereby having their knowledge validated. My goal in undertaking the study was to look closely at what happened to identities when a group of literacy clients and tutors talked with each other. Specifically, I focused on whether and how the author identity was taken up and how it was impacted by other identities ascribed to and taken up by study participants. My assumption was that taking up the author identity would help to raise self-esteem and decrease client shame.

Self-esteem is often linked to empowerment in the literature; gaining self-esteem is considered a kind of empowerment in much of the practitioner-generated literature. Researchers and theorists in the field of adult literacy who use a psychological rather than a social perspective on literacy learning view empowerment similarly: the emphasis is on what goes on in the head of the individual being empowered not on the social context in which an empowering practice is being used. That is, the sense of being deficient and lacking self-esteem are viewed as fairly stable phenomena residing within and controlled by an individual's psyche, rather than phenomena socially constructed on a moment by moment basis. Likewise, this theoretical perspective suggests that it is possible to give an individual a sense of empowerment, as if empowerment were a kind of entity that can be passed on, with no constraints on it, by one person to another.

While self-esteem and a sense of empowerment may be phenomena that reside to a degree inside a person and are thus under the control of the individual, they are also usefully viewed as fluid and constructed in and by interactions with people and the world around one. In this sense, self-esteem and a sense of empowerment are socially constructed and socially controlled. One consequence of viewing self-esteem and a sense of empowerment as socially constructed is that they are supposed to be significantly affected by social context and interactions between and among people.

This study is founded on research and theory in three broad areas: ideas about literacy client skill and capability; identities and discourses; and the use of feminist poststructuralist theory to revisit empowering practices.

1. Client Skill and Capability

Much of the popular literature about literacy depicts adult literacy clients as deficient. This view of literacy clients is based on the clients' low level of school-based literacy skills and knowledge. Seeing adult literacy clients as possessing other valuable knowledge has, however, infused the work of some literacy researchers as well as practitioners. By practitioners, I mean tutors, teachers, and administrators from agencies which serve adult literacy clients. Gillespie (1991) chronicles the experiences of several adult literacy clients with becoming authors. She wanted to better understand how the adult literacy clients "changed as a result of becoming...authors" (p. vii). Like her, I assumed that literacy clients were skillful and adept and, also like her, I was interested in the social dimension of clients becoming authors. She discovered that the social aspect of their work as authors was very important to them. That is, when the work of these authors became known in other contexts, learners began to see themselves as knowledgeable, as people with expertise to share. Purcell-Gates (1993) also took into account the social dimension of literacy education and viewed the adult literacy client as skilled and adept. Jenny, Purcell-Gates's student, was unsuccessful at learning to read until compositions in her own words, that is, in her own language or dialect, were used as reading materials. Her non-standard English dialect, a barrier to gaining the ability to read using conventional reading materials and methods, had been seen as a deficiency. Once she could learn from materials she had composed, she was able to learn to read. A third study which took the social dimension of literacy into account and was based on the assumption of client capability was Peck, Flower, and Higgins' (1994) study of a literacy project sited in an urban neighborhood. Adults and teenagers who the researchers studied were given a chance to develop their writing skills through writing persuasively on issues that had an impact on their community. These clients' concerns about their community were treated as worthy and valid and the clients themselves were viewed as capable of producing texts that could have an impact on their lives.

Like researchers and practitioners who value literacy clients' knowledge, I sought to devise a way to help adult literacy clients draw on and recognize the value of their own knowledge; I also, however, wanted to examine what happened when clients were involved in such a practice. To that end, I organized an Authors Workshop at a literacy agency in the city where I live, an intervention that I would study using qualitative research methods. Such methods allowed me to look both closely and comprehensively at what happened when clients were invited to become authors.

I discovered the heuristic power of feminist poststructuralist theory during a pilot study I carried out at the same literacy agency. This study presented puzzling and contradictory findings which became less puzzling once I abandoned a humanist perspective on empowerment for a feminist poststructuralist one. The humanist perspective on empowerment stresses the capacity of the individual, on her own or in concert with others, to make changes in his or her life. Resistance to oppression comes in the form of individual efforts to raise one's status and in the form of communal actions directed at such entities as governmental bodies or corporations. The feminist poststructuralist perspective on empowerment stresses the fact that individuals have only some agency to resist oppression. Oppression results from people being positioned infelicitously by cultural discourses.

2. Identities and Discourses

For the purposes of this study "identity" refers to a socially constructed and continously changing phenomenon. That is, I conceptualize identity as constructed by positioning moves that are produced by discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts. Discourses and local ideologies both contain beliefs relating to phenomena that are taken for granted or viewed as natural not as constructions. Discourses and local ideologies differ, however, in that discourses are generalized, culture-wide sets of beliefs, while local ideologies consist of beliefs and practices arising out of a local situation. A positioning move is a verbal act through which a person takes up or is ascribed an identity. A speech act is a purposeful social action that takes place via language.

A feminist poststructuralist perspective holds that discourses make available a given set of identities which people take up. While discourses work to confine identities, identities are not totally determined by discourses. There can be gaps between the source(s) of the determination of the identity and its impact on a person (see Brodkey, 1996, on Hall's theory of articulation). There is, therefore, some maneuvering room for people which allows them to partially resist having infelicitous identities determined by a discourse or discourses. Furthermore, at a given moment or in a short episode of talk, several identities for an individual can be constructed by different discourses that inform that episode of talk. Thus, feminist poststructuralist theorizing about identity suggests that the author identity is just one out of a set of identities an adult literacy client might take up or be ascribed because, in any social context, individuals can have a number of different identities. For example, a literacy client in a small tutoring group might take up the identities of student, teacher, friend, skilled writer and unskilled reader. Moreover, this theorizing holds that identities are constructed in conversational interactions by positioning moves. That is, certain discourses are invoked when positioning moves ascribe an identity or identities to a person participating in a conversation. Discourses are not the only phenomena involved in a positioning move. Also involved in positioning moves are speech acts and local ideologies; often these are linked to discourses.

3. Revisiting Empowering Practices: Feminist Poststructuralist Perspectives

Efforts to promote the value of what adult literacy clients bring to the classroom are widely documented. However, there is scant research that, like this study, explores in depth empowering practices in the field of adult literacy education. This dearth is surprising given the widespread use of, for example, the practice of eliciting and publishing literacy client writings.

Freire's (1973) conscientization strategy is an empowering practice in adult literacy education that is widely adopted and adapted by literacy practitioners and revisited frequently in the research. This strategy involves adult literacy learners learning to read and write but also helps learners to become critically aware of oppression. Like my Authors Workshop strategy, it is certainly a strategy which values adult literacy learners' knowledge, even though it does not specifically offer adults needing to improve literacy skills opportunities to become authors. There are a number of studies, both critical and affirming, which focused on the adaptation of Freire's conscientization methods in settings both similar to and different from Freire's (Mitchell, 1994; Rivera, 1990). Weiler (1994) critiqued Freirian ideas from a feminist perspective. She believed that universalist claims of the efficacy of Freirian and feminist pedagogy were subject to critique because they did not take into account the specifics of power imbalances among groups of people all of whom were oppressed. An important element of this literature is that it suggests that there are no universally successful pedagogies, just as there are no universals when it comes to naming an oppressor.

While inviting adult literacy clients to become authors has not been examined in the research using a poststructuralist or feminist poststructuralist lens, other practices supposed to be empowering have been. For example, Campbell (1994), using feminist poststructural theory to frame her research, studied attempts to democratize the governance of several literacy programs in Canada. She drew attention to the way in which race, gender, and class complicate one's understanding of the student's and the literacy worker's social identities. Furthermore, she used this insight to caution against a too simplistic view of the key players in these democratization efforts.

Pietrykowski (1996) used a postmodernist lens in his critique of Mezirow's transformational pedagogy (1996; 1998). Very briefly, Mezirow's scheme involves a pedagogy which helps adults transcend "habitual meaning perspectives" (Wacks, 1987, p. 47) which are constituted of "frames of reference, paradigms, cultural canons...that limit... communication and understanding" (Mezirow, 1998, p. 5).

Pietrykowski claimed that Mezirow's "self-reflective learning" approach arises, itself, out of a set of assumptions that are by no means universal. Furthermore, Pietrykowski underscores the multiplicity of subject positions of an individual which is accompanied by an "often contradictory understanding of their life world" (1996, pp. 82-83). While not focused on adult literacy clients, other studies have examined practices deemed empowering by some practitioners and scholars. In some cases, the feminist poststructuralist concept of multiple and malleable identities or subject positions was used (Davies, 1993; Jonsberg, 1992). These studies are encouraging because they demonstrate that there are ways to investigate the impact of discourses that grant those who are constrained by them a chance to try out other subject positions or identities. Jonsberg, in effect, reformulated the expressivist approach to teaching writing by discovering and then promoting personal writing as a site for rehearsing new identities. As Solsken demonstrated in her 1993 study, *Literacy, Gender, and Work in Families and in School*, identities are constructed and negotiated. If they are negotiated, then it follows that they may be negotiable within certain limits.

In this section, I have noted that much of the research in adult literacy education is framed by a cognitive/psychological perspective, but have argued that a growing body of research in the field takes into account the social dimension of literacy education. I have discussed several studies which revisit and some which re-envision empowering practices using a feminist poststructuralist perspective. Thus, I was able to conclude that some groundwork, though scant, was available in the field on which to build my study.

B. Statement of the Problem and the Research Questions

This study makes use of ethnographic and sociolinguistic research methods and is framed by feminist poststructuralist theory. I have used this method and this perspective to revisit a pedagogical practice supposed to be empowering: giving adult literacy clients the opportunity to become authors by writing for publication. "Author" is just one identity participants in the study took up or were ascribed. By gathering and reviewing ethnographic data, I hoped to discover salient identities, including author, constructed over the course of the study. By microanalyzing classroom talk where these salient identities were constructed and interacted, I sought to achieve a much needed closer look at how the practice of inviting clients of literacy programs to become authors plays out in one tutoring group.

The goal, then, in carrying out this study, was to understand what happened when literacy clients took up or were ascribed the author identity, in light of other identities ascribed to or taken up by clients. To adequately understand the identities constructed by and for study participants, when positioning--shaped by discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts--occurred, I needed research questions which focused my attention on these factors. Since the literacy agency where the study is sited frequently publishes client writing, I thought it was important to understand how the construction of salient identities was affected by the way the agency thought about and facilitated client writing. That is, I wanted to understand the local ideologies that had an impact on the identities that became salient. So I decided to ask the following question:

1. What are the agency-wide beliefs and practices related to clients becoming authors?

Since I needed to find out about the impact of identity-constructing interactions on client experiences as authors, I had to have a way to discover and name the other identities that came into play at moments when clients were positioned as authors. So I asked the following question:

2. What are the categories of salient identities constructed for and by study participants at the research site and what discourses do they represent?

It wasn't enough to simply discover and name the salient identities. Because my theoretical framework suggests that identities are made and remade constantly in conversational interactions, I needed a question which would help me track this ongoing formation of identities. So I asked:

3. When client participants position themselves and are positioned by others as authors, how is that positioning taken up? Which identities, constructed and maintained through talk, facilitate or interfere with the taking up of this identity?

Question 1 reflected my expectation that what happened at the research site would be influenced by the larger agency context. Agency beliefs and practices related to client writing could have either facilitated the taking up of the author identity or interfered with taking it up. If the latter, the expectation was that the capacity of the author identity to empower would be undermined. Questions 2 and 3 reflected my expectation that the author identity was not the only identity taken up or ascribed in an episode of talk. Asking these questions allowed me to explore what else besides author positioning was happening at any given moment. The reason I wanted to know about other positioning moves and their impact on author positioning moves was that they might be interfering with the taking up of the author identity and thus with any empowerment that might have been achieved by taking up or being ascribed the author identity.

C. Approach to the Study

To answer these research questions, I have used a combination of ethnographic and sociolinguistic methods. The clients whose experiences I've studied are adults who interacted in several different learning and social contexts within a large one-room family resource center, sited in an elementary school in a small Northeastern city. The participants in the study are four African-American women, a Mexican-American woman, and an African-Jamaican man and their tutors. The two primary learning contexts at the resource center were an Adult Basic Education tutoring group and an Authors Workshop. The Authors Workshop provided a regularly occurring opportunity for clients of the literacy agency to compose writing that would be published. I designed and implemented the Authors Workshop for purposes of the study, believing that it had promise as an empowering practice but also believing it needed close scrutiny. That is, an earlier pilot study I conducted and my own tutoring experiences at the agency where I conducted my study suggested that a closer look was needed at how this practice played out in one tutoring group.

I have used the ethnographic methods of writing field notes and conducting interviews to yield a more general picture of the salient identities that were ascribed to taken up and/or resisted by participants over the course of the study in these two contexts. Specifically, I reviewed documents and interviewed appropriate staff, other tutors, and clients of the program and coded interview transcripts thematically to get a sense of the beliefs and practices within the culture of the agency relating to client writing. I collected and thematically coded classroom data in the form of field notes and transcribed excerpts of ABE and Authors Workshop sessions. To better understand the experiences of study participants with the salient identities constructed for them and by them, I transcribed and reviewed interviews conducted with study participants.

Having reviewed this ethnographic data to glean the salient identities constructed over the course of the nine-month study, I selected several Authors Workshops and ABE tutoring sessions to examine more closely via microanalysis how these salient identities were constructed and how they interacted with each other. For that closer look, I went beyond basic ethnographic strategies; I designed and used a system for microanalyzing classroom conversations, basing my design on a critical sociolinguistic approach to analysis of talk. Specifically, I coded utterances from selected transcripts of classroom talk for instances of positioning moves that ascribed or reflected the taking up of various identities, including the author identity, which had become salient for study participants over the course of the study. I also coded the transcripts for instances of discourses informing the positioning moves. Finally, I identified the speech acts and ideologies involved in the utterances that made up the conversational exchanges. The purpose of the microanalysis was to look closely at utterances that constituted the conversational exchanges in order to see which identities were being constructed and to see how they interacted, utterance by utterance.

D. Rationale for and Significance of the Study

One reason for conducting this study was to link an already sizable body of sociolinguistic research similar to mine but occurring in K-College classrooms to the research of practices in adult literacy programs. Adult literacy research has been too long without the benefits made available by a sociolinguistic approach to research. The K-College studies, like this one, focus on bettering our understanding of the impact of social life on literacy learning. The hope is that this link will promote more research of the type represented by my study in adult literacy educational settings.

A second reason for conducting this study was to devise a scheme for collecting and analyzing classroom talk that might be useful in classroom settings other than adult literacy settings. Specifically, it could be used to study empowering practices where identity is a key element in a diversity of educational and other settings. This scheme helps researchers take into account the impact of larger cultural and institutional contexts on the "doings" at a specific research site. That is, I have created a research methodology that allows one to discover the impact of the larger culture, the institutional culture, and the culture of the small group on what happens there, especially what happens that relates to educational practices deemed empowering. By borrowing for my study a framing perspective from feminist poststructuralism (Brodkey, 1996; Davies, 1993; Davies and Harre, 1990), I have synthesized a new approach to sociolinguistic research. Demonstrating one way of using Davies and Harre's work to study positioning and identity construction, via conversational interactions in a specific educational setting, should add to the knowledge base of how to study conversational interactions.

Finally, my study fits into the category of studies that are local in focus and, at the same time, concerned with the impact of the larger culture on what is happening in a local site via dominant discourses circulating in that culture. Luke (1993) suggests that case studies in the anthology he edited make clear the "the need for tactical analyses of the politics in local institutions--whether regional schooling jurisdictions, rural communities, or urban universities. At the same time, [this anthology] insists throughout on the futility of literacy reform without the larger socio-economic analysis and strategy" (p. 4). While Luke alludes to literacy reform here, he is, in effect, arguing for a better way to theorize research which can lead to reform. My study provides a specific methodology to carry out such research.

There are several ways in which this study may have significance for practitioners. First, this study reminds practitioners to tap client knowledge about their own learning but at the same time understand how clients and practitioner both are positioned by discourses. Acknowledging and using what adult learners know about their own educational experiences, and about their needs and how best to meet those needs, is at the heart of Susan Lytle's work in the area of assessment of adult literacy learners (Lytle and Schultz, 1990; Lytle, 1991). Consulting the adult literacy student is sometimes what is meant when practitioners talk about learner-centered literacy education (Fingeret and Jurmo,1989). The basis for Lytle's work and for the kind of learner-centered literacy education where the learner is consulted is a high level of respect for the adult learner's knowledge (see also Prentiss's [1995] argument for the need to consult students in K-12 classrooms). This study is grounded in such a respect for client knowledge, while at the same time taking into account the way that clients and practitioners alike are positioned by discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts. Simply consulting clients without taking these forces into account could lead to reinforcing infelicitous positionings of clients.

A second significance of this study for practitioners is its offering a warrant for practitioners to question liberatory practices. That is, it may stimulate practitioners to revisit overly simplistic and sanguine views of what is possible when we undertake to empower our clients with these kinds of practices. Helping to empower these adults in ways which will really permit them to make critical changes in their lives is difficult, given the contradictions in and constraints on the lives of many of the adults who enter literacy programs. It takes a fine-tuned microanalytical approach to discover what is going on in a literacy program to reveal some of the complexities and contradictions in the lived experiences of clients of that program. It might be advisable, in future uses of this approach, to restrict attention to those moments when clients are resisting positive repositioning. We can't research every program in this way, but we need at least enough studies of this kind to confirm that a certain pedagogical practice or curriculum will play out in different settings in signficantly different ways and with signficantly different consequences. In addition, we need enough studies so we can begin to examine the ways that one given practice plays out in a number of settings, seeking for patterns across sites.

This study may also add to a growing body of research which can help practitioners challenge cultural myths or storylines in which literacy clients are portrayed as generally lacking. Cultural storylines are constructed by generalized and conventional expectations or standards relating to how people should live their lives. Practitioners and clients alike are caught in such cultural storylines and may unwittingly be engaged in constructing identities where illiteracy is viewed as lack of a more general kind and not just as a lack of knowing how to decode--and encode--the written word. Thus, I would expect that insights from this study into how identities are formed, changed, and re-formed in the adult literacy classroom will help other practitioners (as it has helped me) become more alert and sensitive when promoting client resistance to this storyline or failure narrative (Nienkamp, 2000) in which clients can be said to fail to live "up to standards in [a] discourse" (Nienkamp, 1991), in this case the Traditional Education discourse. Knowledge of the construction of identities by discourses has the potential to prevent us all--tutors and clients--from unwittingly helping to sustain identities which are infelicitous and to help us facilitate those which are positive.

Thus, in this study, I am starting with the idea that the various ways the client is positioned and the identities and statuses which "accompany" those positionings are all-important to how the client sees herself, to how others see her, and to her subsequent actions. These identities are likely to be accompanied by a range of negative to positive connotations. Understanding the positioning that is going on in an adult literacy tutoring group could lead a tutor and/or clients to initiate and work, where appropriate, to maintain more positive positions.

E. Limitations of the Study

One limitation of this study lies in its very local nature. Ethnographic research is supposed, however, to focus on local cultures and give thorough accounts of those cultures. In a field like adult literacy education, however, where so few of these local studies involve classrooms, there may not yet have been a sufficient number of similar studies by which to gauge the more generalized usefulness of the findings.

A second potential limitation was the small number of participants. A small number of participants, however, is an advantage in studies involving microanalysis of classroom interaction (see Egan-Robertson, 1994, p. 15). Having a large number of participants can make the use of microanalysis that involves many categories (like mine) unwieldy.

A third limitation is that I became more immersed in the culture I studied than I expected to be when I started collecting data. There were disadvantages and advantages to being so immersed. The first disadvantage was that I shaped more of the "goings on" in the ABE tutoring group session than I had expected. I expected to have a significant impact on the Authors Workshop sessions because I was its facilitator. Getting at the perspectives of the students and the other tutor might have been hampered by this degree of immersion in the culture. I overcame this limitation by staying aware that when I deliberately positioned the other participants in the ABE sessions as well as in the Authors Workshop I was, so to speak, "discoursed." That is, I stayed aware that what I intended and what I did were influenced by discourses from the larger culture just as the intentions and actions of the other participants were. Furthermore, the limitations resulting from being so immersed in the culture I studied were not as significant as they would be in a less exploratory study framed by a positivist perspective. The use of a constructivist perspective demanded that, as part of the data analysis, I remain aware of how I helped to construct the culture I studied. Indeed I was a primary participant in the study. I served as a tutor of the ABE tutoring group and as the facilitator of the Authors Workshops; and I collected and analyzed data and then explored, in detail, findings from the data regarding my self-positioning and my positioning of others.

A final limitation is not unique to my study. The lives of people who participate in adult literacy programs like the one in the study can be quite unpredictable. At times, lives of the participants in my study became so unpredictable that it put a potentially serious limitation on my research project. The volatility of their lives was due in some cases to how welfare reform was playing out in their lives. One of the consequences of welfare reform on participants' lives was that I became more involved in their personal lives, specifically when trying to help with the problem of looking for jobs so food stamps would not be cut off. In our state, welfare clients are given a deadline by which they must find jobs or face having their food stamps and other assistance cut off. Beyond the anguish that the loss of food stamps and other problems related to basic survival causes the participants--this was no small concern to me--this unpredictability could have had serious logistical problems in the study. Midway through the study, two participants talked about moving away; one of the two, Jolene, did move away before I had finished collecting data. I was unable to arrange for a second interview with Jolene because she left so precipitously. My interviews with study participants were open-ended, which helped to mitigate the effects of this limitation on data collection. Open-ended interviews meant that I was not planning the first and the second interviews to have a strict set of specific questions. If a client missed the second interview, there was still important and usable data in the first. Also mitigating the limiting effect was the fact that, while useful for gaining an overall perspective on clients' experiences, interviews were not the most crucial source of data in the study: classroom conversations constitute the key source of findings. Another way I believe that pressure on the students exerted by welfare reform may have limited my study is that it was one of the factors that might have delayed getting the Authors Workshop up and running. There was such an emphasis on getting "jobs first" in our state's version of welfare reform that this requirement may have made participants feel keenly the need to focus on basic skills and resist an activity like participating in the Authors Workshop. That is, they may not have viewed the Authors Workshop as giving them enough of the basic skills they believed they needed to get a job.

F. Overview of the Dissertation

In this first chapter I have provided an overview of the research problem, stated my research questions, reviewed my approach to the study, the rationale for and significance of the study, and its limitations. In the second chapter, I review studies and theory pertaining to four bodies of literature: research about adult literacy programming and about clients of literacy programs as writers; theory I use to frame my study and to build a methodology for it; research of classroom interaction in K-College settings; and recent theory related to empowerment. In Chapter 3, I discuss in detail the methodology I used to undertake my study. Then, in Chapter 4, I discuss findings yielded by the data as a result of my use of two kinds of data and of analysis: ethnographic and sociolinguistic. Finally, in Chapter 5, I discuss the implications of the findings for classroom research and for adult literacy education practice. I also discuss my findings as they relate to and amplify the existing research on adult literacy. Also included in Chapter 5 are suggestions for further research and commentary about how to address some of the limitations of my study.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Introduction

This chapter is a review and discussion of studies and theoretical literature related to my study. The study focusses on a common practice in adult literacy programs, inviting clients to become authors. It is framed by sociolinguistic perspectives on the construction of identity via talk and by feminist poststructuralist theory as it relates to identity and empowerment. With these topics in mind, I review studies and theory pertaining to research about adult literacy programming and about clients of literacy programs as writers and theory I use to frame my study and to build a methodology for it. Also, because there are so few studies of adult literacy clients that draw on the theoretical and methodological literature that I used for my study, I review primarily research sited in K-12 and college classrooms in this literature review. Finally, I discuss feminist poststructuralist theory related to empowerment.

In the first section, I discuss literature related to adult literacy clients becoming authors, with a focus on how this practice is viewed as empowering. My goal in this first section is to highlight how empowerment is theorized in most adult literacy programs that invite clients to become authors. Empowerment is a concept about which there is scant agreement as to its meaning. I will take up what the concept means as I discuss the research literature and as I discuss what empowerment means when viewed through various theoretical lenses.

In the second section, I explain in some detail the concepts that constitute the theoretical lens I used to frame my study and that helped me devise the methodology I used. The concepts are identity, positioning, discourse, local ideology, and speech act.

In the third section, I review research sited in K-college classrooms that bear on this study. I review theories and research related to the construction of identity, especially studies framed by feminist poststructuralist theory. I also review theory and studies related to empowerment in K-College literacy classrooms.

In the fourth section, I focus on poststructuralist and feminist poststructuralist theories about empowerment.

B. Empowerment of Clients of Adult Literacy Programs

1. Introduction

In describing how literacy practitioners view the practice of encouraging clients of adult literacy programs to see themselves as authors, my focus is on the goals of these programs--which involve empowerment of various kinds--and the theory that grounds these goals. This discussion will extend the reader's understanding of the practice of inviting literacy clients to become authors and of the way its empowering potential is theorized. In addition, I suggest why and how the practice may need to be revisited using a feminist poststructuralist understanding of "empowerment."

The term "empowerment," when used in connection with clients of adult literacy programs being given an opportunity to become authors, has several different meanings. I will discuss this multi-faceted concept in some detail below, as I review the research and descriptive literature related to literacy clients becoming authors.

2. Descriptions of Authoring in Adult Literacy Programs

A lot of writing is going on in literacy programs, much of it about personal experiences. The many articles about the use of writing with adult literacy students attest to this fact. Not all of it is personal writing, but when empowerment is part of the equation in a literacy program, personal writing is often viewed as a primary vehicle for empowerment. Personal writing is tied into my definition of authorship; that is, it involves the idea that clients should be treated as authorities about their own lives and that they have something to say that worth being read or heard by others. Thus, adult literacy practitioners believe that authorship can give clients of literacy programs power, in a way that improving reading skills might not, by giving them chances to find their voices and make themselves heard.

Literacy programs described in the articles alluded to above often publish the student writing. While there are school-based programs which encourage learners to be authors as a way to empower them, "enfranchisement" and "empowerment" of the learner is more often the aim of encouraging and publishing learner writing in community-based programs (de Barros, 1991; Johnston, 1990; Heller, 1994). Client authorship is viewed by some of those who promote it as an empowering practice because it is a way to promote the value of what such students know and can share with and tell to a larger audience through publication.

Individual motives for authorship and empowerment in adult literacy settings include building self-esteem (D'Annunzio, 1994; Read/Write/Now, 1994; Schuylkill Intermediate Unit #29, 1993); breaking silence/gaining a voice (Baxter, 1990; Griffin et al., 1993) developing one's own voice (Simons, 1992; Stasz, 1991); and promoting personal change and development (Literacy Volunteers/Chippewa Valley, 1994; Mendez,1994; Newman, 1994). Social motives for authorship and empowerment in adult literacy settings include: promoting group solidarity and a sense of community (Scheffer,1995; Tao, 1990); helping others (Antonucci et al., 1997; Eastman, 1993); and promoting community change (North Quabbin Adult Education Center, (no date); Peck, Flower and Higgins, 1994).

While the program at the research site is not a community-based program, a belief in client proficiency which especially marks such programs informed my creation of the Authors Workshops. The efficacy of these Authors Workshops, as a means to empower literacy clients, is the focus of my study. When I designed the Authors Workshop, I viewed affirmation of client knowledge and perspectives as the primary source of empowerment. The idea was that clients would gain self-esteem from being affirmed in this way and use this self-esteem to gain a sense of hope and a more positive sense of self, both of which would help them make the improvements they wanted to make in their lives.

My reflection on these various rationales for adult learner writing and publishing reveal that, even when the focus is on the group or the community and not on the individual, practitioners in these programs are likely, sometimes unwittingly, still to be guided by a psycho/cognitive perspective on authorship. Thus, making authorship empowering is viewed as a fairly simple and straightforward process. For one thing, the belief that authorship is empowering for the individual is based on the idea that the writing produced is the product of a single author with a single stable identity. The belief is also based on the assumption that the writer is a relatively free agent, i.e., that other forces are not significantly constraining his or her desire to be an author and the production of the work. These beliefs are deeply ingrained in people socialized in Western cultures. These cultures promote the concept of personal autonomy and individual capacity to act (Davies, 1993). These beliefs, which taken together could be viewed as the humanist cultural storyline or discourse, are signalled by the frequent use of the term "voice" in accounts and in studies of adult learner authorship. (But see Lensmire, 1994, for a view of voice that combines individualistic and social perspectives.)

While Mezirow (1990) does not advocate inviting adult literacy clients to become authors, his work on transformational pedagogy for adults bears examination here because he, too, has a vision framed by a humanist perspective. Very briefly, transformational pedagogy for adults involves activities which promote transcendance of habitual ways of viewing phenomena. In a recent article (1998), Mezirow articulates the following vision of transformational pedagogy. It involves the "critical reflection on assumptions...[wherein] adults learn to think for themselves rather than act on the concepts, values, and feelings of others" (p.1). In a later section of this literature review I take up a postmodernist critique of this pedagogy launched by Pietrykowski. Though framed by postmodernist theory, the critique is closely akin to what feminist poststructuralists might say about Mezirow's work. That is, they would similarly take issue with Mezirow's implicit claim of the universality of his pedagogical approach. Pietrykowski's is one of the few voices in adult education shaped by postmodernist theory, so it is important to consider his ideas relating to Mezirow's transformational pedagogy, which Mezirow deems empowering.

Ideas about individual empowerment through group support as literacy clients "become" authors are based on a belief that, for the most part, members of groups who are viewed as in need of empowerment will be unified and will support each other. There is little in the way of research literature on the empowerment of individuals in such groups of literacy clients that uses a feminist poststructuralist perspective.

There is, however, a body of research involving, and theoretical works about, mutually supportive members of groups becoming "empowered" that questions the simple and straightforward and too facile acceptance of this conventional wisdom (de Castell, 1994; Rockhill, 1993; Weiler, 1994).

3. Studies of Adult Learners as Writers and as Authors

In this section, I discuss three studies that include a focus on empowerment and are framed by a perspective which stresses the importance of thinking about social or cultural aspects of literacy learning and authorship. The studies demonstrate that these social and cultural aspects, which a psycho-cognitive perspective disregards, have an impact on the experiences of clients of adult literacy programs. Taking social and cultural aspects into account is a step toward the use of feminist poststructuralist perspectives on literacy learning because more than the cognitive experience is accounted for in this literature. Thus it is appropriate here to review studies that take these aspects into account.

Gillespie (1991) studied adult learners given opportunities to become authors in several literacy programs. One of the key issues she was interested in was "how [learners] had changed as a result of becoming...author[s]" (p. vii). Gillespie found that the social process around writing was an important factor for adult learners when they talked about changes that occurred as a result of becoming authors. One of these social processes was sharing work with learners in various contexts, such as other programs. When learners' work as authors became known in multiple contexts, learners began to have a sense of "themselves as knowledgeable...to see themselves as...teacher[s] or expert[s]." (185). This sense of being knowledgeable, on the part of clients of literacy programs, brings the idea of empowerment to mind because clients are often adjudged to be lacking in knowledge. Gillespie's finding concerning the impact of social context on the development of adult learners into authors locates her study in a category of research which demonstrates the necessity of taking social context into account when studying people who are writing.

An example of a study involving an adult learner which took the social context into consideration differently was Purcell-Gates's (1993) case study of an adult who was able to conquer her difficulties with learning to read by authoring her own reading materials. Purcell-Gates frames her study as a way to respond to the charge that "[W]e professionals must acknowledge the link between literacy development and culture (Ferdman, 1990) [in order to] better study and understand literacy practices and learning" (p. 210). Purcell-Gates claims that because the language Jenny used was nonstandard, she was denied an opportunity to learn how to read. (Purcell-Gates describes Jenny's culture as "urban Appalachian.") This study notes the disempowering effect of the practice, in some literacy programs, of insisting on clients reading commercially prepared materials written in standard English. When Jenny was asked to author and then read her own writing, however, she was able to learn to read. One might say that inviting Jenny to become an author empowered her to learn to read.

Purcell-Gates's study of Jenny was integrated into a book, *Other People's Words*, (1995). In the longer work, Purcell-Gates attributes the outsider status of Jenny--and her son, Donny--to a "complex pattern of synergistic relationships among social, cultural, and cognitive/linguistic factors" (p. 181). Purcell-Gates's explanation of a person's "failure" to learn to read as due to more than merely innate ability provides an an example of a second way in which the social/cultural context is foregrounded in adult literacy research. Focusing on innate ability as the primary factor that helps or hinders clients in their quest for literacy signals a psycho-cognitive theoretical framework.

Peck, Flower, and Higgins (1994) studied a community literacy project which involved adults who improved their literacy skills primarily through developing persuasive writing skills. Like Gillespie's and Purcell-Gates's studies, Peck et al. take the social context of writing into consideration. In an account of their study, they claim that they examine "a set of guiding principles...[for] developing a community literacy that works for social changes and which arises from an intercultural conversation" (p. 4). At the Community Literacy Center, adults worked collaboratively to write "public, transactional texts," using a set of strategies developed by a team that included Flower, a professor/researcher interested in rhetoric. Presumably, the goal of developing a community literacy that has an impact on the life of that community could have a socially empowering effect. The way the social context is taken into consideration in this study is that the authors base their work with clients on a belief that the act of writing is fundamentally social.

These three studies differ in the ways they take into account social and cultural factors when they discuss learning to write, but they all suggest the necessity of taking such factors into account. That is, these studies suggest that the individualistic psycho-cognitive perspective, and assumptions related to it may not be adequate to fully account for what happens when authorship is used as an empowering practice. These three studies represent a tradition of research which explains more adequately what is happening when people write than studies framed by a psycho-cognitive perspective. The researchers use, however, a theoretical perspective that may not offer access to all the aspects of a learning situation that are necessary to take into account when one is interested in empowerment. My study begins with the assumption that to research adequately the experiences of people who are engaged in an "empowering" practice, it is important to look at how people in the setting position and relate to each other. Patterns of positioning and relating may have a big impact on whether a certain practice, like inviting learners to be authors, has an empowering effect on clients in a specific social context.

In the discussion that follows, I address the issue of empowerment of literacy clients in studies that, for the most part, use theoretical perspectives that permit a fruitful rethinking of empowering practices. That is, these perspectives suggest the inadequacy of a simplistic view of empowerment, via pedagogical practices or via reorganization of the structure of literacy programs, to make practices and programs more democratic.

4. Research Related to Empowerment Involving Adult Literacy Learners

Feminist poststructuralist theory has only infrequently framed adult literacy education research. Instead, when research involving adult learners is concerned with issues such as empowerment or social inequities, it is often framed by social/cultural or by critical perspectives. The social/cultural perspective involves acknowledging the impact of social and cultural context on literacy learning and, more generally, on empowerment. The critical perspective involves a belief in the power of institutions to reproduce inequities found in the dominant culture.

In the literature about empowerment and adult literacy, practitioners, researchers, and theorists discuss pedagogical practices that are thought to lead to personal empowerment (Gillespie, 1991; Griffin et al, 1993; Himley, Madden, Hoffman, and Penrod, 1996; Hull, 1993; Mezirow, 1990, 1996, 1998; Pietrykowski, 1996, 1998; Shethar, 1993) as well as practices which are designed to lead to political empowerment both within and outside of literacy programs (Anorve, 1989; Campbell, 1994; Larson, no date; Peck, Flower and Higgins, 1995). Political empowerment often involves a mobilization of collective action of some kind.

Hull (1993) revisits liberatory notions about pedagogy and concludes that liberatory pedagogy will achieve little unless attention is paid to how learners fare in terms of power in contexts beyond school and workplace education programs (see also Fingeret, 1991). In a study of adult basic education students' experiences in a community college vocational program, she concludes among other things that we should not mistake the use of a liberatory pedagogy in an educational setting for empowerment via social action beyond the school context. She reviews and critiques the liberatory alternatives to what she calls the "skills approach" to literacy instruction, including the use of job-related materials. These alternatives, which are meant to be more learner-centered, taken together are known as the "functional context" approach to literacy learning. Hull calls for moving beyond "school-bound notions of critical literacy toward multiple avenues for research, reflection, and action...to best assist adults as they attempt to improve their lives both through schooling and in the workplace" (p. 393).

Shethar (1993) directly addresses the issue of student empowerment. She explores the meaning of empowerment in the context of her work with a Chicano prison inmate in a year-long literacy course. In the writings he produced over the year, Shethar was able to see evidence that the writing was a site where race, class, and gender identities of both the inmate and the tutor were "negotiate[d] and reorganize[d]"

(p. 357). One significance of this finding is its suggestion that identities are not static entities but are, instead, malleable; an implication is that they can be changed for the better. Furthermore, "[t]hrough dialogue, the student progress from the passive learner role to a presentation of self as knowledgeable expert" (p. 357). This study is relevant to my study of adult learners as authors because part of my intent--and part of my definition of authorship also--is that the valuable knowledges of learners be made visible to others through publication of their work and other means. Shethar's study, like mine, is about identity construction through writing as well as about empowerment.

I next discuss briefly the theory and research related to Freire's approach to empowerment (1971, 1973, 1990). These studies and related theory complicate the assumption that literacy clients can, as the result of participating in a literacy program, develop the capacity to take social action. Freire's work has been interpreted in various ways by practitioners who draw from it what they deem to be appropriate in their setting. It is, therefore, a mistake to speak globally and simplistically about Freire's work. Nevertheless, critique of his work by theorists and researchers reveals that much of his early thinking and work was guided by a humanist liberatory perspective. A humanist liberatory perspective provides neither an adequate account of disempowerment nor an adequate program for empowerment.

While some of the research focusing on Freirian approaches ends up affirming these approaches (e.g., Rivera, 1990), others suggest there are some problems with them (e.g., Mitchell, 1994). Other re-evaluations of Freirian approaches to literacy pedagogy include critiques framed by feminist perspectives on literacy education (Brady, 1994; Weiler, 1994). Weiler locates herself vis a vis Freirian _and_ feminist pedagogies which she views as similar to Freire's in some important ways. While both see social transformation as a goal, Weiler claims that

> ...these ideals do not address the specificity of people's lives; they do not directly analyze the contradictions between conflicting oppressed groups or the ways in which a single individual can experience oppression in one sphere while being privileged or oppressive in another...(pp. 13-14)

Weiler concludes that "tensions of trying to put liberatory pedagogies into practice" which result from the phenomenon of one always having a divided consciousess and from conflicts among groups trying to work together

> demonstrate the need to re-examine the assumptions of the classic texts of liberatory pedagogy and to consider the various issues that have arisen in attempts at critical and liberatory classroom practice (e.g. Ellsworth, 1989; Berlak, 1989; Britzman, 1990). (p. 14)

5. _Recapping the Concept of Empowerment and Authorship in Adult Literacy Settings_

Like discussions of empowerment involving students other than adult basic education students, those taking place in the field of adult literacy education follow two broad lines of thinking about human agency: humanist and poststructuralist. Within the humanist perspective are two perspectives on empowerment that frame the practices of most agencies who offer clients opportunities to become authors: individual-oriented and communal/community-oriented. The individually-oriented perspective suggests that individuals are able to take actions on their own once they have acquired literacy skills and self-esteem. The communal/community-oriented perspective suggests that if people work together, they are more apt to be able to resolve problems having an impact on their lives. The communal/community perspective recognizes that there are significant forces or circumstances larger than the individual which must be dealt with. A critical communal/community-oriented perspective suggests that the impact of these external forces is best countered by group efforts.

The communal/community-oriented perspective can be viewed as moving a step closer to a feminist poststructuralist perspective on empowerment in that it recognizes that there are forces beyond the individual that can deter a literacy client's empowerment through becoming authors. The feminist poststructuralist view of such forces, however, differs from that of the communal/community-oriented perspective. Instead of viewing forces as exclusively external, feminist poststructuralist theorists hold that discourses, which operate through and on a person from a combination of naturalized internalized versions of "how things are" and discursive practices, construct differentially distributed access to satisfactory positions or identities.

I take up feminist poststructural theorizing about empowerment in greater detail in the fourth section of this literature review. Suffice it to say here that feminist poststructuralist theorizing about empowerment suggests the importance of rethinking the efficacy of empowering adult literacy practices which derive from humanist theorizing about empowerment.

C. Theoretical Grounding for the Study

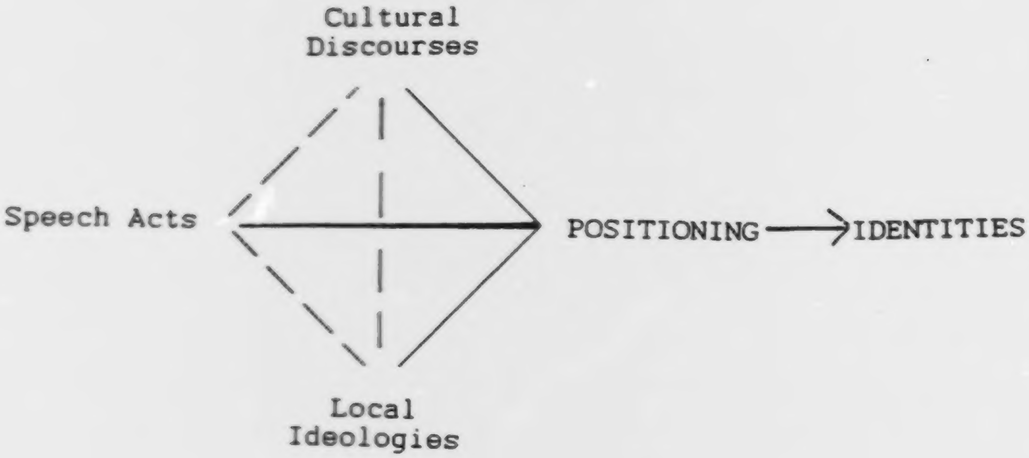
1. Introduction

In this section, I review the basic theory and research I have drawn on to build a theoretical framework and methodology to study what happened when an opportunity to become authors was afforded one group of adult learners. I was interested in how the social aspects of daily life in the classroom influenced what happened. In this study, I have chosen to think about the social aspects of classroom life and their impact on the people in the classroom in terms of how people respond to being positioned or positioning themselves as having certain identities. I look for these positioning moves in conversational interactions. A sociolinguistic approach to researching the social life of a given setting, when framed by feminist poststructuralist theory, invites the researcher to consider participants' identities, and the degree of power and status that the participants experience, as constructed by discourses, local ideologies and speech acts. That is, this study is grounded in theoretical perspectives which suggest that the major factors which contribute to the conversational construction of identities are those that lead to positioning moves made by participants in a conversation that lead to an identity being ascribed or taken up.

Discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts interact with each other to produce a positioning move, although there isn't a one-to-one correspondence between and among them. (See Figure 2.1. below.) Discourses and local ideologies both contain beliefs relating to phenomena; they differ, however, in that discourses are generalized culture-wide sets of beliefs while local ideologies consist of beliefs and practices arising out of the local situation. The relationship between and among discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts is therefore signalled in Figure 2.1 by dotted lines. (It should also be understood that the set of ideologies arising from the research site that do link to cultural discourses are not an exhaustive set of all ideologies that relate to a given discourse.) The solid line connects all three--discourses, ideologies, and speech acts to positioning moves and signals that discourses, ideologies, and speech acts all work to construct identities through positioning moves.

Figure 2.1

Diagram of Theoretical Perspective


Cultural Discourses
Speech Acts
POSITIONING
IDENTITIES
Local Ideologies

In the next four sections, I discuss each of the key concepts in turn, indicating how each of them adds to my theoretical perspective on studying social life in a classroom setting.

2. Identity

As I use the term identity, it refers to a socially constructed and continously changing phenomenon. The humanist conceptualization of identity involves a commitment to the concept of a singular, stable identity which belongs to an individual (Davies, 1993). This conceptualization is linked to a psychological perspective on the development of one's identity. It is a perspective which holds that identity is a relatively fixed and interior entity. While there may or may not be a core identity, it is necessary to be able to talk about socially constructed identities because of the fundamentally social nature of our lives. In this study, I conceptualize identity as constructed by positioning moves that are produced by discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts.

In the example below, at lines 1 and 3, the client is taking up the identity of author: she is, by making a claim, sharing valuable knowledge about her own learning. She is also taking up the identity of the unskilled speller (line 3). The tutor (lines 2 and 4) is taking up the identity of teacher. At line 4, she gives a mini-lesson on the spelling of the word, "cartoon," thereby ascribing the identity of the compliant student to the client and sustaining the client's identity at line 3 of unskilled speller.

> 001 Client: I think my trouble is when I [see]
> the letter, I don't get / all this down...
>
> 002 Tutor: That's why I'm working with you.
> That's all right. It's really hard / particularly
> [when] it doesn't sound the way it's really
> spelled.
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT
>
> 003 Client: It's hard for me to get this word,
> "cartoon."
>
> 004 Tutor: All right now there's this "cuh" sound.
> [It] can either begin with a "c" or with a "k."

These identities don't add up to a singular stable identity for a person; identity is instead a multiple continuously constituted or reconstituted phenomenon. Thus, identity is malleable, within certain limits, because it is constructed in social interactions (Mischler, 1986), primarily by language (Linde, 1993; Muhlhauser and Harre, 1991; Toolan, 1988). When one talks about an identity as constituted via such a process, it follows that it can be reconstituted via the same processes, hence the view that identity is malleable (Davies, 1993, pp. 9 and 23). I have elected to use the term "identity" because Davies and Harre (1990), upon whom I depend for most of my theoretical framework, use it. In their work, identity is always a social phenomenon; when I use the term identity, I use it in the Davies and Harre sense.

Identities constructed at my research site include those that involved a method for completing a task (oral composer, editor), those that involved a level of ability (unskilled reader, skilled writer), those that involved having a certain relationship (supportive peer, peer rival), and those that involved a set of rights and responsibilities (teacher, student).

3. Positioning

A positioning move is a verbal act--shaped in conversational interchanges by discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts--through which a person takes up or is ascribed an identity. Theorists and researchers from a variety of fields explain the social construction of identities in terms of positioning in social interactions (Buchanan & Middleton, 1995; Carbaugh, 1994; Davies & Harre, 1990; Harre & van Langenhove, 1991). I draw my concept of positioning primarily from the work of Davies, Harre, and van Langenhove. The following excerpt from a classroom conversation illuminates the meaning of concept of positioning. As noted above, this is an example of a self-positioning move by a client as having valuable knowledge to share about her own learning or as author. This self-positioning is not sustained by the tutor who instead positions the client as needing help.

> 001 Client: I think my trouble is when I [see] the letter, I don't get / all this down...
>
> 002 Tutor: That's why I'm working with you. That's all right. It's really hard / particularly [when] it doesn't sound the way it's really spelled.
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT
>
> 003 Client: It's hard for me to get this word, "cartoon."
>
> 004 Tutor: All right now there's this "cuh" sound. [It] can either begin with a "c" or with a "k."

Although I have relied on Davies, Harre, and van Langenhove for my concept of positioning, its use in other studies and in the theoretical literature, cited above, has enriched my understanding of the concept. This literature has particularly enhanced my understanding of its usefulness as a framing concept for the study of face-to-face social construction of identities and ascription of status.

Buchanan and Middleton (1995) used the concept of positioning in their study of what they call the "identity work" that occurred via conversational interaction during meetings of "reminiscence groups." These groups are typically composed of older people engaged in talking with other older people about the past. The idea is that such talk is supposed to have a positive impact on their sense of identity and their relationships with each other. One of Buchanan and Middleton's two interests was in how talk "works to constitute particular kinds of identities..." (p. 459). Their interest in positioning is related to their desire to understand how older people position themselves and others via talk "in social relationships..." (p. 459). As part of their theoretical framework, they borrow from Davies and Harre (1990) the idea that identity is an interactional and discursive accomplishment. While the study did not take place in an educational setting, it does demonstrate the usefulness of Davies and Harre's key concept of positioning when identity is at issue. More importantly, Buchanan and Middleton extensively apply the concept of positioning to the analysis of research data. I was helped by this extended application of positioning theory when I was planning my own study. I could not rely on Davies and Harre for such an extended application because they have not published a study using the concept to analyze research data. Like the participants in the reminiscence groups, members of the tutoring group are speakers whose "identities are accomplished through the way they position themselves in social relationships and social practices." (Buchanan and Middleton, p. 457).

Carbaugh (1994) draws on Davies', Harre's, and van Langenhove's positioning theory; his goal is to explore "one cultural model of personhood that is prominent in America today..." (p 159). Carbaugh uses the concept of positioning in a way that has enriched my understanding of it. Carbaugh argues that:

> the primary site in which common sense is made of persons-in-society is *discursive activity*, expressive practices that make available particular positions for participants to take up and address....Through such activities, there is an intricate and ever-present social playing of positions....In short, each discursive utterance simultaneously positions, within sociocultural discourses, its producer as well as the recipients of the messages. (p. 164) (Author's emphasis)

Positioning is usually conceived of as related to one's status or standing in a social context. For example, in *Social Being,* Harre (1979) implies that issues of power are legitimate concerns if one uses his work to create a framework to explore positioning. He stresses the importance of expressive social action over that of material social action. He bases his argument, in part, on his recognition that the powerful need of people for respect is a force which shapes the social interaction of people. Also related to issues around power in a given situation is Davies and Harre's suggestion that moments when identities shift are those when there are "shifts in power, access, or blocking of access to certain features of claimed or desired identity..." (1990, p. 49).

Harre also offers a way to think about self-esteem useful to my study. He thinks of emotions as socially constructed, as artifacts of situations and interactions. Since self-esteem is often mentioned in discussions of adult learners becoming authors (Charnley and Jones, 1979; Robishaw, 1996), one should look at perspectives like Harre's on such affective phenomena. He explains self-esteem as socially constructed, not as a feeling or a constellation of feelings which exists largely in the psyche of an individual. To the degree that self-esteem and the respect of others is affected by one's sense of one's status, this concept is useful for my study.

4. Discourses and Local Ideologies

Identities constructed through positioning in conversational interactions can also be seen as inextricably linked to discourses and local ideologies (Brodkey, 1996; Davies, 1993; Davies and Harre, 1990; Foucault, 1977; Sarup, 1993). Discourses and local ideologies both contain beliefs relating to phenomena; in my use, they differ in that discourses are generalized culture-wide sets of beliefs while local ideologies consist of beliefs and practices arising out of the local situation.

An example of a discourse which informed my study is the Traditional Education discourse. It is constituted of beliefs pertaining to education which conventionally suggest a hierarchical relationship between teacher and student and suggest that the teacher has the knowledge and will provide it to the student. In the transcript excerpt below, as already noted, the client takes up the author and unskilled speller identities and the tutor takes up the teacher identity. This interchange is powerfully shaped by the Traditional Education discourse in that the tutor believes that the teacher has the knowledge; the client believes she has some knowledge but it is ignored by the tutor. A local ideology referenced here is "tutor knows best" (lines 2 and 4). This local ideology links to the Traditional Education discourse.

> 001 Client: I think my trouble is when I [see] the letter, I don't get / all this down...
>
> 002 Tutor: That's why I'm working with you. That's all right. It's really hard / particularly [when] it doesn't sound the way it's really spelled.
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT
>
> 003 Client: It's hard for me to get this word, "cartoon."
>
> 004 Tutor: All right now there's this "cuh" sound. [It] can either begin with a "c" or with a "k."

The term, discourse, is similarly conceptualized by a number of researchers and scholars: discourses are generalized culture-wide sets of beliefs (Brodkey, 1996; Davies, 1993; Davies and Harre, 1990 Foucault, 1977). Davies and Harre speak of discourse, in the context of positioning theory, as "an institutualized use of language and language-theory, as "an institutualized use of language and language-like sign system" and as occurring "at the disciplinary, the political, the cultural and the small group level" (p. 45). It is the concept of discourse that occurs on the cultural level that I borrow from Davies and Harre for this study.

Drawing on Foucault, Brodkey (1996) describes the term, discourse, as "a concept for representing and distinguishing among ideologies or worldviews" (p. 13). The five discourses Brodkey names and discusses are those of science, law, art, education, and religion/ethics. According to Brodkey, these "discourses have been institutionalized for such a long time that they are viewed as *natural or proper ways of seeing and knowing and talking about...things...*" (1996, p. 13) (emphasis added).

While Davies and Harre use the concept, discourse, to refer also to "an institutionalized use of a language and language-like sign systems" that can occur at the small group level, I use the concept of local ideology to refer to a small group level belief, including beliefs about practices. An example of a local ideology in this study is "tutor can allocate turns." In this study, there isn't always a one-to-one correspondance between local ideologies and cultural discourses evident in conversational interactions. For example, while the local ideology "teacher can allocate turns" links directly to the Traditional Education discourse, the local ideology "authors can alter facts," did not link to any of the five discourses I discovered operating at the research site.

5. Speech Act Theory

I conceive of a speech act as a purposeful social action taking place via language. My use of speech act theory to help build a theoretical perspective and methodology for studying the positioning of adult literacy clients is based loosely on the work of Austin (1975) and Davies and Harre (1990). Traugott and Pratt (1980) give a succinct explanation of speech act theory as conceived of by Austin:

> As its name suggests, speech act theory treats an utterance as an act performed by a speaker in a context with respect to an addressee. Performing a speech act involves performing (1) a *locutionary act* , the act of producing a recognizable grammatical utterance in the language, and (2) an *illocutionary act*, the attempt to accomplish some communicative purpose. (p. 229)

Speech acts involve language functioning to position a person or people to achieve a purpose. Davies and Harre see a "productive interrelationship between 'position' and 'illocutionary force'. [That is] [t]he social meaning of what has been said will be shown to depend upon the positioning of interlocutors which is itself a product of the social force a conversation is taken to have" (p. 45). Furthermore, Davies and Harre explain that several different speech acts can occur within a given utterance. They assert that "[t]his way of thinking about speech acts allows for there to be multiple speech acts accomplished in any one saying (p. 45). This is true of the tutor's utterance below where she uses two speech acts within one utterance. In the example below, the client uses the speech act "to claim" twice when she explains to the tutor the difficulty she has with sounding out words (lines 1 and 3). The tutor responds by using two different speech acts, "to reassure," and "to instruct (line 2).

> 001 Client: I think my trouble is when I [see] the letter, I don't get / all this down. . .
>
> 002 Tutor: That's why I'm working with you. That's all right. It's really hard / particularly [when] it doesn't sound the way it's really spelled.
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT
>
> 003 Client: It's hard for me to get this word, "cartoon."
>
> 004 Tutor: All right now there's this "cuh" sound. [It] can either begin with a "c" or with a "k."

In this study, when I view speech acts as involved in positioning of the self or another, these speech acts are often linked to discourses and to local ideologies. To cite the example given above--of the self-positioning of a tutor as a teacher using stock phrases to direct clients' attention to, and win their cooperation in carrying out, an activity--the speech act " to direct" is linked to the Traditional Education discourse. By seeing this linkage, I am able to better discern instances of clients being positioned as having a certain identity and a status related to that identity. When, in the same utterance, the tutor confesses to being ignorant about a topic, that acknowledgement of ignorance is linked to the local ideology, "the tutor can acknowledge uncertainty." In this case, the tutor is positioning herself as having less status than a teacher. By contrast, a tutor has more status when the ideology, "the tutor knows best," is in play. Thus tying a given speech act--its social import and consequence--to a discourse and/or to a local ideology helps the researcher better understand both the identity and the status being ascribed in a positioning move.

6. Summary

In this section, I have reviewed the basic theory and the research I have drawn on to build a theoretical framework and methodology to study what happened when one group of adult learners was given an opportunity to become authors. In this study, I have chosen to think about the social aspects of classroom life and their impact on the people in the classroom in terms of how people respond to being positioned or to positioning themselves as having certain identities. I look for these positioning moves in conversational interactions. In order to explain my framework for looking at positioning moves, I have defined the key terms which form the theoretical framework of this study. As I use the term, "identity," it refers to a socially constructed and continuously changing phenomenon. I conceptualize identity as constructed by positioning moves that are produced by means of discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts. A positioning move is a verbal act through which a person takes up or is ascribed an identity. I conceive of a speech act as a purposeful social action that takes place via language.

Discourses and local ideologies both contain beliefs relating to phenomena; they differ, however, in that discourses are generalized culture-wide sets of beliefs while local ideologies consist of beliefs arising out of a local context. The concept of discourse as defined by Foucault, Davies, and Brodkey provides a way to understand specifically how the beliefs tutors, clients, and staff have about literacy, and about each other's identities, are made available by discourses which circulate in and are generally accepted by the larger culture (Brodkey, 1996).

To summarize, by using a theoretical framework made up of these concepts, based on feminist poststructuralist and sociolinguistic theory, I demonstrate that I view identity as multiple and as something constantly being constructed. By using this framework, I also show that I view the impact of the larger culture as "delivered" to the local site via discourses. Discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts are forces that inform positionings that lead to identities. these three forces are often linked, but there is not a tidy one-to-one correspondence among them.

So, I have used the combined strengths of the theoretical perspectives of feminist poststructuralism and sociolinguistics to help me explain the construction of identity via positioning which occurs in classroom conversations. These perspectives suggest that it is not enough to establish *a priori* the identities clients have in a literacy program and then discuss these identities as they affect and impact on each other. In interactions, identities are taken up; sometimes they are challenged, sometimes they persist, sometimes they fade. Therefore it is necessary to track the making, unmaking, and remaking of identities over time in a specific setting to see which ones become salient. Conceiving of identity as fluid, as always situational, and as constructed over time suggests the need for a methodology that permits one to track the momen-by-moment fluctuation and change and the impact of one identity on another. I have devised such a methodology. This synthesized methodology also permits me to track dynamics related to power and status.

D. Related Research That Informs the Study

1. Introduction

In this section, I review research and theory largely relating to classrooms other than adult literacy classrooms, where reading and/or writing are the primary activities. In my study, itself a study of a liberatory practice, I see "author" as one identity among several which can be ascribe to clients of a literacy agency or program; therefore, I will review theory and research which concerns itself with the construction of identity in classrooms where reading and writing occur. In many of these studies and in much of this theoretical material, power and status are at issue. Some of the classroom studies and the theory I review focus on the use of what are believed to be liberatory or empowering literacy practices.

In the first section, I discuss classroom studies involving the construction of identities. As part of this review, I discuss research that uses the concept of identity as accomplished and constructed through talk, most of which is framed by a feminist poststructuralist lens. In this section, I also review studies sited in the writing classroom, some of which are framed by femininist poststructuralist theory and are informed by an interest in empowerment. In the second section, I discuss some studies which revisit several different liberatory practices both from a social, critical perspective and from a feminist poststructuralist perspective.

2. Classroom Studies Involving the Construction of Identities

In this section, I discuss theory and research which focus on the construction of identity in classrooms, concentrating on theory and research relating to the construction of identities specifically through talk and using a feminist poststructuralist lens.

Studies and theory which concern themselves with the construction of identities in the classroom are particularly relevant to this study. This is so because the study is sited at a school, and the specific contexts for the practice I am exploring, inviting literacy clients to be authors, are school-like. Furthermore, clients of our literacy program tend to attach a lot of importance to achieving the status that they believe goes along with being a "good student." I do not intend to do a full-scale review of studies concerned with classroom identities; my goal is to suggest three ways in which such studies have been framed theoretically. These ways include the construction of identity as a product of social and economic forces, the construction of identity as a process of negotiation, and the construction of the student identity via talk. I will briefly review studies in the first two categories and then focus my discussion on the construction of identity via talk.

Reproduction theorists (Althusser, 1971; Bowles and Gintis, 1976) explained the construction of identities in school settings by asserting that social and economic forces produce identities useful to the dominant economic system. Early classroom studies that reject the determinism of reproduction theorists in their explanations of how the student identity is constructed include Willis (1981) and Wexler (1992). In some of the more recent classroom studies, which concern themselves specifically with the student identity, researchers have discovered that the construction of this identity involves a much more complicated process (Levinson, Foley, and Holland, 1994; Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996; Prentiss, 1995). For example, Martin-Jones and Heller, who focus on identity in multilingual educational settings, explain that "[E]ducation is a key site for the construction of social identities and of unequal relations of power" (p. 4). According to the authors, in the introduction to a special issue of *Linguistics and Education*, the construction of these identities and power inequities occurs as a result of discursive practices. The authors do not, however, construe these practices as monolithic and deterministic.

They argue that there is a range of "social structures and processes" from those that are "tightly bound to each other [and] oriented to the same ideological content" to those that are "loosely connected" (pp. 6-7). They assert that there are always sites "where different practices of resistance. . . can be developed and where different world views can be articulated" (p. 7). Furthermore, the authors speak of social structure as not wholly determining but as "a dynamic process" (p. 8).

Levinson et al also suggest that practitioners and researchers need to move beyond a simplistic and deterministic view of the production and reproduction of unequal status and power in educational settings. They cite the contribution of cultural studies to the 1990's trends in understanding the "production of the educated person" (p. 3), thus freeing the critique of reproduction from a strictly structural or class orientation. The turn to cultural studies produces a vision of a much more varied landscape, that of the cultural production of the educated person, where differences among Western societies and differences between Western societies and Third World countries must be considered. Furthermore, they cite the contribution of ethnographic research in schools to a more complex vision of "the production of different educational outcomes" (p. 9). The authors identify a dimension of cultural production which is closely related to the critical theory and research informing my study. That is, their view of identity formation suggests that the process of identity formation is complex and fluid:

> The identities of participants in...social movements cannot be taken as predefined by class position; neither can they be taken as predefined by an essential aspect of race or gender. In other words, the bases of identity are historical and they change through time and through political process. (p. 11)

With their acknowledgement of the complexity and flux of the cultural production of the educated person, Levinson et al provide a bridge to the next set of studies which inform my own. Also concerned with the formation of identities in classrooms, these studies speak in terms of a negotiated identity. In some cases, an identity that is acceptable to both the student and to the teacher is negotiated (Schultz, 1994). Solsken (1993) draws on the "identities as negotiated" explanation of identity construction in her study. In a book-length study of a group of children, *Literacy, Gender, and Work In Families and In School*, she "argue[s] that, in learning to read and write, children make choices through which they construct definitions of themselves and their relationships with parents, siblings, teachers, and peers" (p. 6). She discusses several ways of thinking about and explaining identity formation. The one that relates most closely to my study is that which Solsken describes as asserting that "issues of power and identity [are] constantly negotiated through social interaction" (p. 8). According to Solsken, studies which talk in terms of a negotiated identity draw on but also extend the constructivist tradition of research. They extend that tradition by suggesting that identity construction takes place over time via social interaction. Sola and Bennett (1985) and Bloome (1989) are two studies Solsken cites which "describe classroom literacy events that reveal the negotiation of power and identity issues" (p. 8). This way of explaining identity is not only useful to researchers looking for a way to explore the "how" of identity construction in a specific setting in more detail, but also to researchers and practitioners with an interest in how "negative" identities can be renegotiated/reconstructed into more positive ones.

I will focus next on classroom studies which use the concept of identities constructed through talk, most of which employ a feminist poststructuralist theory to explore the construction of identity.

Hull et al. (1991) were interested in remediation, which they viewed as a social construction, not as an entity that exists outside of interactions among individuals. They were also interested in how the identity of a learner deemed in need of remedial help was constructed in classroom interactions between the student and the composition instructor. Specifically, the student did not perform according to the "rules" of conventionally construed communication competence and was, therefore, believed to be limited in her cognitive abilities. When the instructor reviewed the student's written work, she acknowledged that it was not "not really too bad" (p. 310). In spite of her positive assessment of the student's written work, the instructor did not relinquish the evaluation she made of the student based on their conversations. In this study, the authors also locate the perceptions and beliefs of the instructor in the context of the larger cultural context.

That is, they review the instructor's beliefs and assumptions in the context of the history of how the "remedial" student has been viewed in the United States, stressing the predominance of deficit thinking about such students (p. 311 ff).

Researchers who focus on the construction of identity and draw on poststructuralist theory explain that construction in several ways: identity can be constructed by a discourse that delimits and constrains gender identity (Gilbert , 1994) or class identity (Brodkey, 1996); identity can be constructed via classroom talk (Collins, 1995; Davies and Harre, 1990; Luke et al., 1994; Willett, Solsken and Wilson Keenan, 1996, 1998). This third way of explaining identity construction is the one I use in this study.

Collins (1995) studied classroom identity formation by focusing on the co-construction via talk by a student and the teacher of the "resisting student" identity. Collins's study belongs to a recent but burgeoning category of studies which characterize identities as co-constructed via talk over time.

While the construction of identity via talk was not the primary focus of a study conducted by Willett, Solsken, and Wilson Keenan (1996, 1998), attention is paid to the construction, in conversational interactions, of social identities and subject positions in their microanalysis of talk during a classroom event that involved families coming into school to share stories about their lives and cultural traditions. Willett et al. were examining the outcomes of a collaborative effort to create a more community-oriented multicultural learning experience. They compared earlier and later episodes from this event to see what changes had occurred. Tracking the subject positions and social identities of speakers helped the researchers determine whether there had been a shift toward greater latitude in the range of social identities present in class discussions.

Luke et al.'s study (1994) also explains identity construction as occurring via classroom talk. Like Willett, Solsken and Wilson Keenan, Luke et al. were interested in classrooms where cultural differences are at issue. Their primary concern was with "how...invisibility and difference [are] established and marked in institutional life" (p. 211). They also connect the construction of identity in the literacy classroom to "the [larger] matter of how we speak and write with and about people of color and cultural difference" (p. 231). Luke et al. discovered that there were moments when "Torres Strait Islander and Aboriginal children have found places and gaps for 'talking back': public 'acts of defiant speech' that are the 'expression of moving from object to subject' (hooks, 1990a, p. 340)" (p. 231). In addition, Luke et al.'s study offers a way of thinking about student self-empowerment, in which students change their positions in order to resist being constructed as objects.

3. Reviewing and Re-envisioning Liberatory Literacy Practices in Writing Classrooms

a. Overview

Because my study revisits a liberatory or progressive writing practice, inviting clients of a literacy program to become authors, I review here studies specifically concerned with such practices. This set of studies, some of which are framed by feminist poststructuralist theory, help to place my study in the constellation of studies relating to liberatory practices that involve K-12 students.

In Section I, I reviewed theory and studies that revisited the empowerment of clients of adult literacy programs. I reviewed several studies dealing with empowerment through pedagogical interventions and through interventions designed to increase the political power within and beyond literacy programs. My goal was to highlight the different ways empowerment has been theorized, focusing on two theoretical perspectives: the humanist perspective and the feminist poststructuralist perspective. Because there are few studies that assess strategies to increase the power of adult literacy clients, however, I discuss here studies and theory relating to empowerment in other than adult literacy settings. These studies serve to complicate simplistic thinking about students and empowerment, which is a goal of my study as well.

b. Reviewing Liberatory Practices in the Writing Classroom: Social and Political Perspectives

In this section, I review studies, framed by social and political perspectives, where liberatory practices are revisited. Cook-Gumperz (1993) carried out a case study of an African-American woman in a basic skills program at an urban community college. She discusses, in her introduction, the progressive changes in literacy pedagogy which have been made to help students adjust more easily to academic writing practices. Personal narrative is one such pedagogical device. Cook-Gumperz concludes, after studying the "process and products" of a writing conference with the student, that "the linguistic and cognitive processes necessary to produce this text are much more complex" (p. 337) than adult educators realize and that understanding this fact will help explain why adult students have such a hard time adapting to academic life: not in spite of, but maybe because of the "progressive" pedagogical approaches used.

Another study that deserves attention here is of children writing in a workshop setting. It revisits a practice believed conventionally to be a progressive one. Lensmire (1994) studied a writing workshop he created for a group of children, with the intent of empowering them personally and socially. He supposed that giving children opportunities to find their own voices and to upset the power imbalance in the classroom, where the teacher's voice predominates, would empower them. He writes "I wanted to set up and work in a transformed classroom community. My dreams for that community emphasized the presence of student voices where there used to be primarily the teacher's....My classroom...would celebrate...unofficial voices. "(p. 14). He discovered that what he had envisioned was, in fact, to a great extent, a dream. He had not counted on children being just as selfish, petty, and prone to power plays as are adults. He found that the workshop was not free of class and gender conflicts that affected the lives of children outside of school. Lensmire's study suggests that teacher intentions to empower learners can be foiled by the peer to peer cross-currents of power struggles even at the level of elementary school. As the tutor of the literacy clients in my study, I too intended to empower them. As the findings chapter will demonstrate, my attempts were sometimes interrupted by the interaction of identities and related power politics within the tutoring group.

Like Lensmire (1994), DiPardo (1992) challenges a simplistic view of democratic practices meant to empower students. Her study, however, focuses on basic writers. She was interested in looking more closely at peer-led tutoring groups involving basic writers. She studied certain "instructional interactions" that occurred in these groups from multiple points of view, trying to locate these interactions within layers of an institutional context" (p. 5). DiPardo discovered that the benefits of this collaborative and presumably more democratic practice--more democratic because power is decentralized--are not automatic, "given the complexities of student needs and of the larger political matrix within which such programs are situated " (p. 1).

Like this study, the aforesaid studies are representative of those which raise questions about the simplistic application of "liberatory" practices to the teaching and learning of writing in the classroom. They don't, however, frame their challenge to empowering practices using the same theoretical perspective as mine, that of feminist poststructuralism. All three, however, suggest the need to take into account, in some way, the fact that the classroom culture, constituted in part by cultural and political forces, may mediate the "progressiveness" of these practices.

c. The Writing Classroom: A Feminist Poststructuralist Perspective

Next I consider two studies sited in the writing classroom, but not involving adult literacy clients, that inform this study. The purpose of this study is to explore the connections between a literacy learner being ascribed the identity of author and the other identities he or she takes up or has ascribed to her or him in the same literacy program. Thus, studies framed by the feminist poststructuralist perspective in which there is a concern with identity/identities in the writing classroom are the most relevant to mine. Both Davies (1993) and Jonsberg (1992,1993) focused on the construction of identities by analyzing interview data and student writing.

Davies studied in depth a pedagogical approach to the teaching of writing and reading framed by feminist poststructuralist perspectives on gender identity. She tried this approach with children in elementary school and simultaneously collected and analyzed data from three "study groups." In these groups, children looked at and discussed visual and other materials to help them discover that identity is a construct. The groups collaboratively composed stories and created a collage; individuals also wrote stories. These stories were not necessarily personal narratives but, in the process of addressing the impact of domininant gender discourses, they reflected on their own lives through photographs and discussion. The goal was stories and collages which resisted domininant gender discourses. Thus, the purpose of the study groups was to help the children learn to deconstruct discourses about gender which limit the identities the children can assume in their stories and in their lives. The purpose of the study was to try out this "intervention" and document what happened.

Jonsberg also describes an intervention in her study, a process by which the participants in the study "rehearsed" new identities in the texts they wrote. She provided her students with a reformulated version of the expressivist tradition in pedagogy they could use to resist the identities imposed on pregnant teens by "the sexist discourse that helps to produce teenage pregnancy" (p.1). She "argues a view of self as process and suggests that writing to rehearse new subject positions may play a significant role in the evolution of that process" (p.1). While in my study I focus on identities as constructed in talk, like Jonsberg, I also view self as process. That is, I see the process of identity formation as fluid and identities as subject to change.

Davies' and Jonsberg's studies concern themselves not only with the construction of identities but also point to how the reconstruction of identities might occur in writing classrooms. Jonsberg and Davies, specifically, take advantage of the possibility for partial agency, a concept that sets feminist poststructuralist theory apart from the earlier strains of critical theory which talked in more deterministic terms.

Gilbert (1991) reassess the use of the metaphor of "voice" in the writing classroom. She discusses the "metaphor" of voice as a construction of a discourse. She writes that the desire to hear a voice in a piece of writing "is compatible with other preoccupations in Western thought--with the search for human 'presence,' for an essential 'self,' and therefore for non-contingent 'truth'" (p. 196). Commentary such as Gilbert's (1991), which revisit progressive practices designed for the writing classroom and which are framed by poststructuralist theory, claim that the effectiveness of these practices cannot be taken for granted because the humanist perspectives on authorship and identity which support these practices are fundamentally inadequate.

E. Review of Recent Theory and Studies Related to Empowerment

I will not undertake, here, a complete review of recent theorizing about empowerment. Because I have just discussed studies framed by feminist poststructuralist theory, it is appropriate to focus on feminist poststructuralist theorizing about empowerment. Such theory represents a fundamental shift away from more conventional thinking about these matters. In the course of explaining feminist poststructuralist theory as it relates to empowerment, I will describe several studies and critiques related to empowerment and adult literacy clients, all of which use this theory.

Like Freire with his conscientization pedagogy (1973; see also McLaren and Lankshear, 1994) and members of the Frankfurt School, (Sarup, 1993, pp. 69-70), feminist poststructuralists tend to view the source of opprssion as coming from within the person. Following Foucault 's ideas as articulated in *Discipline and Punish* (1977), feminist poststructuralists, however, differ from Freire and members of the Frankfurt School when they postulate a different set of forces bringing about internalized oppression. Neither Weiler nor Brodkey accept the simple efficacy of individual efforts nor the reproduction theorist's claim that oppression is uniformly and totally hegemonic. So, feminist poststructuralist theorizing about oppression and empowerment is fundamentally different from theorizing which sees oppression as only coming from the outside and which postulates that individuals have an unconstrained capacity to act to resist the oppression.

Feminist poststructuralists also take issue with Freire's abstract characterization of oppression which does not take into account the possibility "that the man oppressed by the boss could at the same time oppress his wife, for example, or the white woman oppressed by sexism exploit the black woman" (Weiler, 1994, p. 16). That is, Freire fails to take into account the multiplicity of oppressions and the possibility of conflict among members of oppressed groups. Feminist poststructuralists see the too generalized, seemingly natural truth claims about gender, sexuality, class, race, and education as discourses which construct and make available a certain set of subject positions. These generalized truth claims are apt to become internalized because it is not understood that they are artifacts of culture and history and therefore not "natural," i.e., just representations of how the world is. These truth claims also exist in the form of storylines and discourses *which have the effect of determining how we ought to think about reality* which we internalize from early childhood (Davies, 1993).

So, unlike the more conventional theorizing about empowerment, feminist poststructuralist theory suggests that constraints on people's lives are multiple and contradictory and work more from the inside than from the outside of the individual once these constraints, in the form of discourses, have been internalized and continue to be sustained by certain practices and ideologies. Feminist poststructuralists also think about empowerment in ways that are different from "reproduction" critical theory. As such, they do not locate oppression only in the power of an oppressive state, class system, or in government institutions or laws or economic policies.

As I explained in the first section of this chapter, conventional thinking about empowerment is largely founded on humanist ideas about agency. That is, it is founded on the idea that individuals have the capacity to act and to change their lives and that individual action is a workable means to that end. While not believing in the simple efficacy of the individual's capacity to act, feminist (Weiler, 1988) and feminist poststructuralist (Brodkey, 1996) theorists hold that there is some capacity for individual action. Weiler sees the possibility for action on the part of girls and women to resist hegemonic school-based ideas about what women can and cannot do and how women and men must relate. She praises the work of the socialist and feminist sociologist of education, Madeleine Arnot, whose work is supported by the underlying idea "that social relationships are always in process and are constructed by individual human beings within a web of power and material constraints" (p. 38). Weiler continues:

> While Arnot has been influenced by reproduction theory and is sympathetic to a materialist analysis, she is critical of feminist reproduction theory for its failure to deal with the question of resistance and *the contested nature of the construction of both class and gender identities.* (p. 38) (emphasis added)

Brodkey (1996) suggests, using Hall's theory of articulation (1986, p. 53), that resistance to being positioned less felicitiously by a discourse is possible. Brodkey (1996), quoting Brodkey and Henry (1992), writes:

> By *articulation* Hall means both utterance and connection, in the second definition trying to capture the fact than an articulated joint may or may not connect to one another. Discourses may well *intend* to construct social identities, but a theory of articulation is needed to distinguish between

> hegemonic intentions and the uneven effects of discourse in practice. . . . Articulation is a construct for recovering at least some of the complexity of what happens during attempts to identify and unify people as the subjects of discourse (146). (pp. 14-15)

She also suggests that the fact that a subject is the site of the intersection of various discourses and is not merely oppressed by one discourse points to the possibility for agency. "If people learn not one but several discourses along with whatever languages they learn, then absolute discursive hegemony is constantly frustrated, in principle" (p. 17). Neither Weiler nor Brodkey accept the simple efficacy of individual efforts nor the reproduction theorist's claim that oppression is uniformly and totally hegemonic. So, feminist poststructuralist theorizing about oppression and empowerment is fundamentally different from theorizing which sees oppression as only coming from the outside and which postulates that individuals have an unconstrained capacity to act to resist the oppression. It is also different from reproduction theorizing which suggests that this oppression is completely debilitating.

There is some scant evidence that poststructuralist and feminist poststructuralist theory is being used to frame thinking about adult learners (Campbell, 1994 ; Himley et al, 1996; Pietrykowski, 1996, 1998). Though scant, it is important to note this research and theory here because this study is one of these few framed by this perspective and because I am discussing recent theory and research related to empowerment.

Like Weiler, Campbell (1994) draws attention to some of the limitations of critical literacy and is interested more in political power than in personal power. Campbell studied "participatory literacy practices," not pedagogy, per se, in five adult literacy programs in Alberta, Canada. As part of her research, she invited participants to help collect and present data about efforts being made to democratize these programs. The participants created photostories which were "used as a means of generating knowledge and recording information" (p.iii) in a medium Campbell deemed appropriate for adults with low literacy skills. Campbell describes the study as one which "created possibilities rather than conclusions or results" (p.iii). One of the possibilities she claimed was "for literacy workers to examine their social identity in relation to that of their students. It was a chance to move beyond descriptors such as student and literacy worker and to look at how class, gender and race constitute social identity" (p. iii). Both Campbell's use of the concept of "social identity"--what I term "identity"--and the fact that poststructuralist theory informed her study make it especially relevant to this one. My study has both built on and extended Campbell's use of poststructural theory to frame a study of a classroom practice.

Himley, Madden, Hoffman, and Penrod (1996) reassess the assumptions underlying expressivist pedagogy, a way of teaching writing which has been promoted by many commentators in the field of composition studies because it shifts the emphasis, and thus the prestige, away from an essayist-based pedagogy. An essayist-based pedagogy is considered by these practitioners and theorists to be too Western and too male in orientation. Himley et al. turn to Bakhtin and Foucault for their interpretive framework and propose co-authoring as the central concept to understand the writing classes they taught to adult learners. They challenge the expressivist approach to writing pedagogy, but they do not, as my study does, directly address the issue of empowerment of learners. There is an echo here of the move to reconsider the expressivist writing pedagogical paradigm within the field of composition studies, a move fueled by the belief that expressivist writing has a liberating effect on students. Recent theorizing about identity problematizes a simplistic view of gaining voice through expressivist writing. Feminist poststructuralists have begun to question the validity of the assumption that telling one's own story is, on this basis, empowering (Also see Gilbert, 1991).

In a discussion of Mezirow's (1990; 1996; 1998) Transformation Theory pedagogy, Pietrykowski (1996; 1998) questions the efficacy of such individualistically oriented transformational pedagogies. His theoretical lens is postmodernist, not feminist poststructuralist, but he raises some questions about Mezirow's pedagogical approach which feminist poststructuralists might themselves raise.

Very briefly, transformational education for adults is grounded in a humanist rather than poststructuralist perspective and involves activities which promote the individual's transcendence of ingrained ways of viewing phenomena or "habitual meaning perspectives" (Wacks, 1987, p. 47). In a recent article (1998), Mezirow clarifies the role of the critical reflection of assumptions (CRA) in the Transformation Theory of adult learning: "CRA...is central to understanding how adults learn to think for themselves rather than act on the concepts, values, and feelings of others" (p. 1). Mezirow's answer to feminist and other educators who argue that his concept is based on "an arbitrary cultural hegemony of an ideology of Western Enlightenment" e.g., the value of rationality, is to draw on Siegal's (1958) view of "rational analysis" (p. 3). Mezirow writes:

> Any analysis of ideology presupposes standards of rationality and a recognition of the cognitive force of reason. Siegal (1958) concludes: "Critical thinking and rationality are basic...To take the study of ideology seriously is to rely on the critical leverage afforded by...(non-ideological) rational analysis". (p. 3)

So, to reiterate, CRA is framed by a humanist theory of liberation, one which emphasizes the capacity of individuals to exercise agency. The goal of CRA is, for the most part, to facilitate individual transformation. According to Mezirow, however, freeing oneself from "frames of reference, paradigms, cultural canons...that limit or distort communication and understanding" (p. 5) can contribute to society by promoting good citizenship in a democratic society.

Recently, in journals directly related to the field of adult education and adult literacy, challenges to transformative pedagogy have begun to appear. Pietrykowski (1996;1998) challenges the underlying assumptions and theoretical perspective that frame Mezirow's (1990; 1996;

1998) version of transformative pedagogy. Pietrykowski outlines:

> some of the limits of the modernist and humanist approach [of Mezirow's transformational pedagogy] to adult education in which the subject/learner strives for undistorted discourse, true knowledge, and emancipation from systems of power and domination. (p. 88)

Pietrykowski notes that Mezirow's "self-reflective learning" approach arises out of a specific social context. He charges that the idea that "self-reflective learning is internal to an individual and that this learning is necessarily emancipatory reflects a particular theory of subjectivity and of power" (Pietrykowski, 1996, p. 88). Pietrykowski highlights the importance of poststructuralist theorizing to adult education, especially the theorizing which holds that "all individuals...occupy multiple subject positions through which they construct a complex and *often contradictory understanding of their life world*" (pp. 82-83) (emphasis added). In a more recent response to Mezirow's work, Pietrykowski (1998) reiterates his contention that Mezirow mistakenly places his faith in what Pietrykowski calls the "Grand Narrative of Emancipation" (p. 1). He queries Mezirow's apparent attachment to an "essentialist approach to learning" where the educator as expert acts to release an emancipatory impulse in the learner (p. 1). Then Pietrykowski asks:

> [i]f one adopts the modernist "will to emancipate," where the criteria for emancipation are defined by the

> educator at the outset, does not the goal become one of getting adult learners to conform to this desired outcome (for their own good)? It is this modernist attitude to which I strongly object....The power exercised by the adult educator may be repressive or constitutive but it is nevertheless a means to structure and regulate learner behavior. (p. 1)

In this section, I have discussed feminist poststructuralist perspectives on empowerment. Feminist poststructuralists (Weiler, 1994; Brodkey, 1996) do not accept the simple efficacy of individual efforts but they also don't accept the reproduction theorist's claim that oppression is uniformly and totally hegemonic. So, feminist poststructuralist theorizing about oppression and empowerment is fundamentally different from theorizing which sees oppression as only coming from the outside and which postulates that individuals have an unconstrained capacity to act to resist the oppression. Feminist poststructuralists also take issue with a generalized characterization of oppression which does not take into account the possibility "that the man oppressed by the boss could at the same time oppress his wife, for example, or the white woman oppressed by sexism exploit the black woman" (Weiler, 1994, p. 16). That is, Weiler and Brodkey challenge practitioners and scholars interested in empowerment to take into account the multiplicity of oppressions and the possibility of conflict among members of oppressed groups.

In the context of the aforesaid discussion on empowerment, I also discussed a few studies of adult literacy clients, like mine, that include in their focus an interest in empowerment and that are framed by poststructuralist theory. Campbell studied attempts to make governance of adult literacy programs accessible to literacy clients. In Campbell's study, the social identities of learners and staff were constructed in large part by "knowledge/power" differences between them. The scarcity of studies focused on adult learners and the construction of identity suggests that this study, like Campbell's, will contribute to building a foundation for studies about adult learners where empowerment is of interest. Himley, Madden, Hoffman & Penrod (1996) question the efficacy of expressivist writing, supposed by opponents of the essayist tradition in the teaching of writing to be a way to "recover" the personal essay in composition pedagogy. One of Himley et al.'s key concepts, which they use to challenge the notion of the singular solitary writer expressing himself or herself in his or her own voice, is dual authorship. The concept is useful in this study where I am looking at adult literacy clients becoming authors and gaining self-esteem from doing so. That is, it complicates the vision of the literacy client as an author writing his or her own story and thereby finding his or her voice.

Pietrykowski's work, though framed by postmodernist theory not feminist poststructuralist theory, is also relevant to this study because it challenges a paradigm in adult education pedagogy (Mezirow, 1990; 1996; 1998) whereby adults "learn to think for themselves" by transcending the impact on their thinking of other people's ideas. Pietrykowski challenges the underlying assumptions of this pedagogical approach and articulates "some of the limits of the modernist and humanist approach" which characterizes Mezirow's project. This study also challenges these assumptions, although in it, I have discovered the limits of these assumptions as they support a humanist understanding of the efficacy of authorship as an empowering practice.

F. Summary of the Literature Review

This review of the literature has focused on how empowering practices and the construction of identities in the classroom have been theoretically framed. I have reviewed studies relating to adult literacy education, many of which were concerned with the empowerment of learners. These studies were framed by three theoretical perspectives: psychocognitive, social/cultural, and critical. This study is framed by one kind of critical theory, feminist poststructuralism, because I believe that it has a heuristic power that yields insights beyond that which can be gleaned from studies framed by social/cultural perspective. Studies framed by the social/cultural perspective, while closer to my project than studies framed by a psychocognitive perspective, do not always offer a window on issues around empowerment. While I did find a number of relevant studies of adult literacy learners which were framed by various critical perspectives, these studies did not focus on a single "classroom" nor were they framed, for the most part, by a feminist poststructuralist perspective.

I have also reviewed theory and research which demonstrate that there are a variety of approaches one might take to crafting a research project which would help one understand better what is happening in a classroom setting where an empowering practice is in use. I have argued that it is research that is framed by a combination of constructivist, sociolinguistic, and feminist poststructuralist perspectives and that looks at the construction of identities in a classroom setting over time, which informs my study. This research suggests that tracking the moment-by-moment construction of identities of clients in a specific setting within one literacy program helps to provide a more adequate understanding of these adult learners' experiences than I might be able to gain by relying only on field notes and interviews, two other methods that are used in ethnographic research.

In addition, I reviewed studies of K-College literacy classrooms which involved the concept of identity as constructed rather than as an apriori phenomenon. In much of the literature in this section, power and status were at issue. Some studies were carried out in classrooms where liberatory practices were used; a few of these were framed by feminist poststructuralist theory.

Finally, I reviewed feminist poststructuralist theory as it bears on the issue of empowerment. In the course of reviewing this theory, I discuss literature focused on adult literacy clients which is framed by postmodernist and feminist poststructuralist theory.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A. Overview of the Chapter

In this study I address questions, raised by recent theorizing related to identity and empowerment, that suggest the value of revisiting the practice of inviting literacy clients to become authors. My goal was to understand better what happened when a small group of adult literacy clients were ascribed or took up the author identity and other salient identities made available at the research site. I hoped to show how the author identity interacted with other identities with an eye to which identities interrupted the taking up of the author identity and which helped to facilitate its taking up. The questions addressed by this study are:

1. What are the agency-wide beliefs and practices related to clients becoming authors?

2. What are the categories of salient identities constructed for and by study participants at the research site and what discourses do they represent?

3. When client participants position themselves and are positioned by others as authors, how is

that positioning taken up? Which identities, constructed and maintained through talk, facilitate or interfere with the taking up of this identity?

To study the construction of identities via talk and the impact on these identities of discourses and discourse-related ideologies and speech acts, I combined ethnographic methods with a discourse analysis scheme borrowed from sociolinguistics. Over a nine month period in the field, September, 1996-June,1997, I made field notes of tutoring sessions and Authors Workshops. When analyzed, these field notes allowed me to discover the categories of identities which became salient for participants over the course of the study. Interviews with staff, tutors, and clients helped me place my findings from field notes in the context of agency-wide beliefs and practices related to client writing. I also taped tutoring group sessions and Authors Workshops and transcribed selected tapes for microanalysis. Analysis of these transcripts permitted me to see, on a moment to moment basis, the construction and interaction of identities.

In this chapter, I describe the settings, participants and methods of data collection and data analysis of my study. First, I describe the setting and participants. Following that description, I describe my role as researcher. Then I explain the collection of and describe the corpus of my data. Finally, I discuss in detail my data analysis scheme.

B. Setting and Participants

1. Setting

a. The Agency

The headquarters of the agency which runs the literacy classes at the research site is located in another district of a city in the Northeastern United States. Clients who attend ABE and ESL classes at the agency's headquarters tend to fare better economically than clients served at my research site, which is a satellite site. For example, unlike the clients at the research site, clients attending classes at the agency's headquarters often have steady jobs. Also, client participation in ESL classes at the agency's central site tends to be more stable over time than participation in ESL classes at the research site. As of January, 1999, the ESL program at the research site had been discontinued.

Although most of the tutors are volunteers, there are a few paid tutors. The agency likes to hire tutors from the community when possible and when the budget allows. The volunteers are usually middle class and white. There are some exceptions. One tutor who was recently honored for her service to the agency is African-American. In addition to serving as a tutor, she is the secretary of the Board of Directors. Both the Board and the staff represent the diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds of our students, although Board members usually come from middle class backgrounds, unlike our basic literacy clients. The staff raises funds for the agency's operations, runs training sessions for the volunteer tutors, recruits students, and oversees the administration of the tutoring groups by assigning new clients to existing groups, providing tutors with background information on clients, introducing the new clients and their tutors to each other, and making curriculum suggestions.

The training, at the time of my study, was loosely based on a whole language approach to literacy education. The training focused primarily on methods and strategies for teaching reading but gave some attention to working with students on their writing. The whole language approach to teaching reading--where skill-building activities are built into the reading of whole texts--and the process approach to teaching writing were taught to trainees. Some staff members, including Sam Brown, who oversees the program at the research site, Park Street School, believe in the collaborative construction of meaning from a text in tutoring. (All the names, including the name of the school where the research took place, are pseudonyms, except for mine.) This ideology is sometimes associated with the whole language approach to reading (see Froese, 1996). Some tutors and staff, including Sam, Caroline, Patricia, Chris, and I shared the related ideology, "clients are proficient"; others did not.

The students at my research site were viewed officially as participants in the agency's family literacy program, but they did not necessarily have children at the school where the group met. (Staff member Sam Brown's job title is Director of the Family Literacy Program.) At the time of this study, the policy of the agency was to accept into the program any client who wanted to participate. This willingness to accommodate all who wanted to participate in literacy classes reflects a desire to make classes accessible to all. While this attitude toward access is not unique in our agency, a number of other literacy programs in the city turn away clients who do not fit their admission criteria. Some of the clients in the study tried out other programs and then came to our program when problems arose. This was true of all three primary client participants in the study: Jolene, Charles, and Avianca.

b. The Community Around the Park Street School

Both the Authors Workshops and the ABE tutoring group met at an elementary school, Park Street School, in a section of the city hardest hit by an economic downturn which began in the early nineties and continues in 1999. This downturn imposed itself on an already struggling community. This community, which immediately surrounds the Park Street School, is a neighborhood tucked in behind one of the main avenues that runs through the section of the city where a majority of the African-American and West Indian populations of the city lives. While the commercial and visible social life of the avenue does not suggest a healthy economic and social climate, the neighborhood around the school is by comparison an even more desolate area.

c. The Family Resource Center

Park Street School, one of several in the city struggling to address problems created in part by the poverty of its pupils' parents, is the site of one of several Family Resource Centers established in 1996-1997 in several of the city schools. The Director of our Resource Center, Laura, is the Director of the whole system of Resource Centers in the city. She also serves on the board of directors of the agency, has her own public access T.V. show, and writes a column for the local newspaper.

The Resource Center is a large well-lighted room in the basement of the school. There are round tables and a couch in addition to a table with a microwave and a coffee pot. There is a small play area for toddlers, three desks belonging to the assistant director of the Center, a family outreach worker, and a parent who coordinates activities for other parents at the Center, respectively. There are a number of computers in the room which are largely unused. The computer I brought in to use during Authors Workshops occupied several different locations during the study as furniture at the Center was regularly rearranged. The computer was usually located near a table and chairs, and when we were going to use the computer for Authors Workshop, we would sit at a table near the computer.

The Resource Center was a noisy place at the time of the study. When our literacy class sessions were occurring, there was a lot of noise generated from several sources. First, the other tutors' and clients' voices carried and were sometimes so loud that it was difficult to hear our clients' voices as they read. Clients did not seem as bothered by the noise as I was, although a few times Charles, one of the clients, went over to one of the groups and asked them to be more quiet. Charles suggested several times over the course of the study that he would like to have a school for adults only. It's not clear if the noise factor was one of the reasons he suggested this, but it very well might have been. A second source of noise from within the Resource Center was the toddlers and infants brought to the center by parents who assisted the director and the parent coordinator. A third source of noise was a loudspeaker used by the Principal and her assistants to communicate with classrooms throughout the building. Because these announcements had no relevance to our tutoring groups, they were considered intrusive by me and some of the clients. A fourth source of noise was children in the lunchroom next door. Two times during the morning, between 9 and 12, children came to the lunchroom next door, once for recess and once for lunch. The noise, during these times, was often intrusive. In addition, it dramatically reminded clients that they were going to school with children. Two of the client participants expressed the desire several times to locate and move the adult "school" to its own building.

d. Description of ABE and Authors Workshop sessions

The three primary clients/participants were involved in the Adult Basic Education (ABE) tutoring sessions and Authors

Workshops. Three other clients in the study participated in a few Authors Workshops but were tutored in another tutoring group. My co-tutor, Caroline, participated almost exclusively in the group tutoring sessions while I participated in both kinds of sessions.

The ABE sessions focused on the improvement of reading. Clients participated in a round robin reading circle format where they took turns reading out loud from the same text. This is a practice used across the agency, but our group put more emphasis on it and thus spent more time doing it; clients were eager to have plenty of opportunities to read.

Both tutors and clients offered help when a reader had trouble with a word or with understanding the content, but tutors did so more often. Sometimes the reading circle event was followed by a short session of discussing words clients had trouble with in the reading and strategies for decoding them. A reading was sometimes followed by discussion of the content. Sometimes discussions of the content "interrupted" the reading. In both cases, clients tended to draw on personal experience and on personal knowledge related to the reading.

The idea of the Authors Workshop was developed by me. My goal was to provide a context apart from the basic tutoring sessions where clients could write or orally compose pieces worth reading by others and, thereby, take up the identity of author. I also envisioned it as a context where the tutors would facilitate client authorship, helping and collaborating with clients rather than using client writing as an opportunity to correct grammar or teach clients how to sound out a word.

The idea that clients at Park Street School would engage in writing as well as in reading was not a new one. A former tutor of the group which is the focus of this study had encouraged clients to write; when I began tutoring, I "inherited" a large sheaf of client writings from her. Also, early in the fall, the clients in my and Caroline's tutoring group authored a group composition orally while I acted as a scribe. One client, Charles, who had written a lot with the former tutor, brought some of his writing to read to us. Even before the Authors Workshop was presented to the group, Charles declared he wanted to work on his life story.

All of this preceded a more formal announcement about the Authors Workshop. I presented the Authors Workshop to clients in November,1996, before I began collecting data. I explained that clients would have a chance orally or in writing to compose pieces that would be published if the clients wanted to do so. I also solicited from clients at this time ideas about what kind of writing they might like to do: poetry, stories, life story, essay? I also explained that participation was entirely voluntary and assured members of other tutoring groups at the Resource Center that they were welcome to participate.

Authors Workshop sessions varied in terms of format and they were only offered on days that the basic tutoring group met. One kind of Authors Workshop involved a few clients, each working on his or her own writing, with the tutor "standing by" to answer questions. Typically, the questions involved issues such as how to get started on a piece, spelling, and diction, as well as a review, at the author's request, of a section of whatever writing the client was working on. For the most part, however, I operated more or less like a spell-checker, a role clients "invented" for me; I even referred to myself as such in a few of the Authors Workshops. Another format involved a client or clients composing orally while the tutor entered their compositions into the computer. Sometimes these workshops involved more than a few clients. In both kinds of workshops, I viewed myself as performing a service, both when I offered the correct spelling and when I "scribed" the spoken compositions into the computer.

Before I formally announced and explained the Authors Workshops to clients in all of the groups that met at the school's resource center, I convened a meeting of tutors at which I explained what I had in mind for the Authors Workshop. My personal diary for October 29,1996 reads:

> I explained that I saw a difference between writing that helps students learn to read and write better and authorship which involved going more public with more self-expressive kinds of writing. I also explained that according to my idea, an author could be someone who composed orally.

As a way to further describe the position I was working from when I designed the Authors Workshop, I need to explain that I believe that, in adult literacy programs, group endeavors like the Authors Workshop should be student-run. That is, they should be student-run when the students want that responsibility. I stated this as an objective in my dissertation proposal. Students didn't, however, take leadership positions in the Authors Workshop as I had hoped. To explore the reasons for this reluctance in any detail would be a research study in itself and thus is beyond the scope of this study. I will give a brief account, however, of why I think clients did not take on the responsibility for the Authors Workshop. Nine months--my time in the field--is a short time for such a shift of responsibility, according to accounts in the literature of other attempts to encourage clients to take leadership positions. There are other barriers to clients taking on this kind of responsibility. To a certain extent, the findings of my study suggest at least one barrier: discourses shape the identities of clients and tutor/faciliator in ways that prevent clients' taking control of their own education and helping to govern the agency, in any real sense of the word (See Campbell, 1994; and Demetrion, 1998 for accounts, given from two different theoretical perspectives, of attempts to empower clients in the latter way).

For the first few months of the study, the tutoring group met twice a week for approximately two hours. We added an hour of group tutoring time two months into the study. The Authors Workshop met at the same site for approximately one to one and one half hours. It did not occur weekly as I had originally planned. Sometimes no clients wished to participate; at other times, the director of the Resource Center had planned special programs for clients--on health issues or creating a resume--which eclipsed the Authors

Workshop. Sometimes clients who regularly chose to participate in the Authors Workshops were absent.

Authors Workshops always occurred on days when the ABE sessions took place. As suggested above, I often had to rearrange the room physically so that the participants in the Authors Workshop could all sit together near the computer. The Authors Workshop and the study ran for approximately nine months, five months longer than originally planned.

2. Participants

a. Overview

There were two kinds of client participants in the study: the three primary participants and three clients from another tutoring group at the research site. The latter three participants were present at only a few Authors Workshops. Occasionally, on some of the days when their tutor was absent, these and other clients from this group participated in our ABE session. The primary client participants were those whom I interviewed in addition to taping classroom sessions in which they participated. Clients from the other group who were present at some of the Author's Workshop sessions were not interviewed. All participants signalled their agreement to have me transcribe and analyze excerpts of talk, in which they were involved, by signing the consent form.

The primary client participants were: Jolene, an African-American women in her 30's; Avianca, a Mexican-

American woman in her late 60's; and Charles, an African-Jamaican man in his 40's. All three primary client participants had come to our agency's literacy program after leaving other literacy programs. The tutors, Caroline and I, are both middle class white women with professional backgrounds conventionally deemed relevant to literacy education: Caroline is a former librarian and I am a part-time college writing and critical thinking instructor.

b. Study Participants: A More In-depth Look

1. Primary participants. Jolene was a client of the agency briefly before she joined our group in November, 1996. She received 74 hours of tutoring from November of 1996 to May of 1997. When she was tested in 10/96 she read at the H level (4.1-4.5 grade level); she read at the J level, our agency's highest (5.1-5.5 grade level), when tested on 5/97. (Our agency tests every client when they enter the program and at intervals of about 6 months thereafter.) She is an African-American woman who was in her 30's when she started the 1996-97 school year. Prior to her enrollment in November, 1996, Jolene had been tutored by another tutor, Jackie. (Jackie, no longer a tutor, did help out at one of the Authors Workshops I discuss in my findings chapter.) Charles, Avianca, and Eleanor had also been members of the group tutored by Jackie previous to 1996.

Jolene is married and has four children, all in their teens or twenties. During the study, she lived in the immediate vicinity of the school where classes were held and often walked to Park Street School for classes. She is a proud woman who believes she has not been given the respect she deserves. She is reserved, but when she has a strong opinion about something and takes the opportunity to voice it, she is quite forceful. Over the course of the study, Jolene seemed to become less reserved. She continued to read, however, in a very quiet voice; it was hard at times to make out her voice as she read on the tapes of classroom sessions. Jolene remained unemployed over the course of the study and seemed reluctant to give up class time to look for a job, although she was required by the state welfare reform laws to prove that she was actively seeking employment. To that end, she read the job ads provided by the Resource Center staff and several times said she wanted to be interviewed for positions she had read about. While she may have gone on interviews outside of class time, perhaps with her husband, none of the job interviews she set up with Caroline's help panned out. That is, arrangements would be made, but something would happen at the last minute and Jolene and Caroline would not go. Appointments Jolene had to keep, such as those with her case worker, she kept. Once Caroline drove her over to a job center in another part of the city where she was told that she had to return to the placement office at the housing project where she lived. When she got there, they told her they couldn't help her unless she had a G.E.D. This is an example of the lack of organization at that time in the welfare reform process. Jolene talked about jobs she might like to have some day: a job as a T.V. weatherperson or a job as a legal secretary.

Jolene's participation in the previous tutoring group--when Jackie was the tutor--did not seem to lead to a close bond with Avianca and Charles. Unlike Jolene, Avianca and Charles did have a bond that carried over from the time when Jackie was the tutor.

Avianca is a Mexican-American woman who was in her 40's when she entered the program in 1994. At the time she entered the program, she read at the C level (1.6-2.0 grade level). When she was tested in June, 1997, she had advanced to the E level (2.6-3.0 grade level. Avianca advanced to the H level (4.1-4.5 grade level) when she was tested in December, 1997. Thus she improved her reading significantly over the 6 months from June, 1997, to December, 1997. From the time she first enrolled in 1994 until June, 1997, she had received a total of 226 hours of tutoring.

Avianca has several grown children and several grandchildren. Avianca's high school-aged son lived with her during the time of the study. Her experiences with her son and her grandchildren became grist for a few "kitchen table talks," informal conversations about personal matters that Jolene, Avianca, and I engaged in occasionally. (Interestingly, but not surprisingly, these "kitchen table talks" usually occurred when there were only women present.) During the time I was collecting data, Avianca was also ascribed and took up, sometimes reluctantly, the identity of mother to her grandchild whom she dutifully brought to school every day. She would arise each morning around 5:30 to get her grandchild ready for school and then bring him to school at the Park St. School. She did this so her daughter could get to work on time. Even though Avianca expressed pride in her mothering skills, she made it clear several times, as summer approached, that she did not want to have responsibility for her grandson anymore. She said she was ready, in effect, to have her own life.

Avianca had a relationship with Charles which both characterized as a romantic relationship. About three months into the study, Charles became engaged to another woman. Avianca shared her disappointment and anger about this break with me. Charles also confided in me about the break. After Charles became engaged to another woman, their relationship changed and there were several episodes of "off-task" talk during ABE sessions around that time where Avianca let Charles know she was not pleased with him. Charles's response was to try and smooth things over. The change in the relationship may have had an impact on how Avianca viewed herself as a reader and as an author. During the summer after the study ended, Avianca, herself, became engaged and married, a few months after the data collection process was virtually complete. When the new semester began in the fall of 1997, it seemed that Charles and Avianca had patched up their differences and were still friends.

Avianca had health problems which made it uncomfortable for her to sit very long. She had chronic back trouble and a painful condition that may have been arthritis in her knees. Even so, she was a committed member of the group and was absent infrequently. When she was absent, it was usually to go to a doctor's appointment or to see her social worker.

Avianca had temporary part-time work from time to time over the course of the study. Avianca was offered a job as an assistant to the agency's regular ESL tutor at Park Street School. At first, she tutored on a volunteer basis but was soon receiving a modest stipend from the agency for the work. It was a temporary position. She eventually found work with the school system as a bus monitor and her attendance at classes became infrequent. In addition to being a part-time paid ESL tutor, from time to time Avianca sold Avon products. She also did some sewing work for one of the projects at the Resource Center which its Director had initiated. Avianca seemed resourceful in her attempts to augment the meager funds she received from the state.

Furthermore, Avianca was positioned by the director of the Resource Center, Laura, by Sam Brown, by Caroline, and by me as adept at initiating new students into the program and as a translator for the tutors when someone who spoke only Spanish came into the Center looking for help. The Center was open to all the parents and grandparents of the children who went to the Park Street School where our tutoring group met.

Charles was 44 the year I carried out the study, 1996-1997. When he was first enrolled in the program in August, 1995, he read at level D (2.1-2.5 grade level). When subsequently tested at 1/97, 6/97, and 12/97, he read at levels E (2.6-3.0 grade level), F (3.1-3.5 grade level) , and H (4.1-4.5 grade level) respectively. Thus from the middle of the study (1/97) to the end of the study in June, 1997, he advanced one grade level. From the time of his enrollment up to June, 1997, he received 255 hours of tutoring.

Charles is an African-Jamaican man. He has grown children in Jamacia and a son living in the city, somewhere, but not with him. Charles's manner, at least vis a vis the tutors and the female staff was almost courtly. He was the student representative on the agency's board of directors and frequently did outreach work for the Park Street School literacy program, sometimes for pay. He ran a student committee which put on a fashion show to raise money for the agency three years in a row.

Charles is a locally known entertainer in the city's West Indian community, participating in celebrations, especially the annual West Indian Day parade. Charles had a part time job in a warehouse for the latter half of the period during which I collected data. He still runs his own business out of his home; he designs and makes clothing and costumes. Both the warehouse job and his home business were topics he spoke about with pride.

Caroline, my co-tutor at the time of the study, is a widow. As soon as she completed the tutor training, she joined our group. She had been a librarian and had lived and worked in several states before she moved to the area; she came because of her husband's work. She has several other volunteer involvements in the area. She viewed me as the lead tutor and herself as still in training for most of the duration of the study.

ii. Other participants. Georgia is an articulate African-American woman who turned forty in June, 1997, the month the study ended. She was reading at the the agency's lowest grade level, A, when she first enrolled in June of 1996. Clients at the A level are virtually non-readers. When tested in June, 1997, Georgia read at the B level. From June of 1996 through June of 1997, she received 148 hours of tutoring. She was often chosen by Sam Brown to represent the agency at hearings at the legislature and at fundraising events. She was a regular on Charles's fashion show committee.

Charlene, also African-American, was in her 30's when she first enrolled in the program November of 1996. At that time she read at an A level. By the time the study ended in June, 1997, she had advanced two grade levels to a C level. From November of 1996 through June of 1997, she received 116 hours of tutoring. She showed more interest in working on her writing than Georgia, but that may have been because she had more skill and confidence than Georgia did with the mechanics of writing.

Mary, an African-American woman of 36 when the study began, entered the agency's literacy program in September of 1996. From September,1996 to June, 1997, she engaged in 145 hours of tutoring. When she entered the program, she was an A-level reader. When she was tested again in June of 1997, she had advanced to the B-level or equivalent to that of a first grade reader. Mary was an enthusiastic participant in group composing sessions which involved the tutor transcribing the clients' words; her writing skills were rudimentary at best so she composed very little on her own with pencil and paper.

Sam is Director of the family literacy program at the agency. Before joining the staff at the agency, he had been a community organizer. Sam was sometimes called upon to fill in for a tutor who had to be absent. He regularly visited the schools and other sites where family literacy tutoring groups met. Over the course of the study, numbers of clients at some of the other sites dwindled, and he and the other staff members came to view the Park Street School as the agency's primary off-site venue. Thus, he was present during tutoring group sessions more than he normally would have been. He observed tutoring group sessions, sometimes sat in on sessions, tested clients and made himself available to clients, particularly Charles and Georgia, who were called on several times to serve as spokespeople for the agency and who were substantially involved in the mounting of an annual Fashion Show which raised money for the agency.

Patricia moved to the United States from Great Britain about 20 years ago. She was an English as a Second Language (ESL) tutor for the agency until February of 1999, at which time she became a co-tutor in our tutoring group. Her ESL group met Mondays and Wednesdays at Park Street School. Her professional background included community social work; however, she was not working in this capacity during the study. She was also member of the agency's board of directors. It was in her tutoring group that Avianca served as a co-tutor, work for which Avianca was paid.

Chris was a paid tutor for a family literacy group, which met at a nearby school in addition to being a tutor for groups at the Reading Center which was located at agency headquarters. He also helped to oversee, in the evening, the running of the Reading Center at the main offices of the agency.

Jackie was the former tutor of the group, members of which were the primary client participants in this study. She helped out in one Authors Workshop during the study. She maintained an interest in the activities of the group members, especially Charles, and asked me how they were doing whenever I would see her at a board meeting or other agency function. She is also a member of the agency's board of directors.

I was unable to treat two clients, Eleanor and Daniel, as primary participants because I never had an opportunity to interview them. They did, however, sign the consent forms. These participants still played a part in the construction of identities, albeit a minor part. That is, to borrow the words of a colleague, "their presence did create subject positions for other participants." I therefore mention them when it is necessary to clarify a point that relates to the three primary client participants of the study. A third potential participant for whom there is no interview data left the group, precipitously, and I was never able to ask him to sign the consent form.

c. My Role in the Tutoring Group and in the Workshops

I discuss my role in the tutoring group here and my role as researcher in the upcoming Methodology section. I was conscious of the distinction between these two roles over the course of the study so I describe the roles in two different sections, one here and the other later. The most fundamental distinction between the two roles is my stance vis a vis the practice of inviting clients to become authors. As tutor and, more importantly, as facilitator of the Authors Workshop, my intention was to make the experiences of the clients as personally rewarding as possible. To be willing to see myself as objectively as possible as I interacted with participants, I had to make a firm distinction between the two roles.

I was one of two tutors for the tutoring group. I started working with the clients in the group in mid-September, 1996, twice a week for two hours each session. Sessions met from 9-11 a.m. at the beginning and then I extended the hours after my co-tutor, Caroline, arrived. Clients tended to stay later than 11 a.m. and had expressed an interest in extending the hours of tutoring they received.

Caroline joined me in early October, 1996. Data collection began in November, 1996, after I had gained the participants' consent. My intent was to have Caroline take over the tutoring of the group on one of the days it met so I could focus on running the Authors Workshop and also have an easier time collecting data. As it turned out, that plan did not work. My sense of personal responsibility to the clients as students contributed to this. As for the Authors Workshop, I planned to start off as the facilitator and then gradually give the clients more control of it. This plan never worked either. (I explain why I think the plan didn't work in the section *My Role as a Researcher*.)

C. Permission to Conduct Research

I had little trouble gaining access to my research site. When the study began, I had already served as a tutor and as a board member at the agency for five years. I had also conducted a pilot study at a different site within the same agency. To gain the clients' consent to involve them in the study, I wrote a letter to them which I read out loud while they followed along on their copies. Some clients signed right away; others signed after asking for time to reflect on my proposal. I also wrote virtually the same letter to the tutors and staff members whom I planned to involve in the study. Tutors and staff read the letter and signed the consent form.

D. Research Methodology

In this section, I discuss in detail my role as researcher and the collection, management, and analysis of the data.

1. My Role as Researcher

In my role as researcher, I viewed what happened over the course of the study in the classroom in a way distinctly different from my view in my role as tutor. As a tutor, I was working out of a liberal empowerment stance vis a vis clients. That is, I believed that clients were competent and knowledgeable and that they would gain a sense of personal empowerment by being offered a chance to become authors. My theoretical perspective as a researcher made it necessary to view my tutor identity poststructurally. That is, my theoretical perspective helped me to understand how my identity was shaped through talk and by discourses just like that of the other participants in the study.

As distinct as the two identities were, the most accurate term to characterize my role is teacher-researcher. While I had not planned to take on the role of teacher-researcher, it became impossible not to do so. As such, I had to write field notes subsequent to ABE and Authors Workshop sessions. This was one disadvantage. I taped the majority of these sessions and used the practice of listening to the tapes and writing out field notes. As I did, I filled in everything not explicitly demonstrated on the tape that I could remember about each session. Another disadvantage was that when I did not tape a session, I had to rely on memory and a few notes hastily scribbled on site, to write the field notes for that session. I also was able to make use of a small tape recorder to "write" field notes on the way home from the research site. There was one advantage to my being a participant in the group I was studying: I was always present.

2. Data Collection and Analysis

a. Overview

Over a nine month period from September, 1996 through June, 1997, I collected various kinds of data. There were three phases of the study, which I describe in this section. In the first phase, I simultaneously taped ABE tutoring group and Authors Workshop conversations and made field notes on tutoring group sessions and Authors Workshops. During the second phase, before I finished collecting data, I began to analyze my data thematically. I also interviewed a staff member of the agency, tutors of other groups, my co-tutor, and clients in our tutoring group. In the third phase, I concentrated on thematically coding all conversation from a number of ABE and Authors Workshop sessions and microanalyzing selected transcripts.

While my approach to the study was basically ethnographic, I moved beyond a strictly ethnographic approach when I borrowed perspectives and discourse analysis techniques from sociolinguistics, social psychology, and feminist poststructuralism. These perspectives and related data analysis methodologies allowed the close look at classroom interaction I needed in order to answer my research questions.

b. Data Collection

I have based the findings of my study on nine months of field work. I spent September and October acquainting myself with the research site and the clients in the tutoring group. Then, once I gained consent from clients in November, 1996, I began to collect field note data and tape tutoring sessions and Authors Workshops. I completed this data collection in June, 1997.

I interviewed the staff member of our site and two tutors of other tutoring groups not at the site to gain a sense of the overall agency cultural context in which the tutoring group sessions and Authors Workshops were embedded, focusing on agency beliefs and practices related to client writing. Specifically, to collect data on the agency's view of client authorship, I interviewed the staff member from the agency, Sam, who oversaw the tutoring at the research site. I also interviewed, in addition to Caroline, my co-tutor, two other tutors, Chris and Patricia. I interviewed Chris in a joint interview with Sam. The purpose of that interview was to further my understanding of how client authorship was conceived of in another tutoring group within the agency.

I interviewed Patricia, the ESL tutor, specifically about Avianca's work as an assistant tutor in Patricia's ESL group. I also asked her about her views of client authorship. In addition, I collected statements written by staff about client authorship and about other identities from materials printed by the agency.

Recording classroom conversations allowed me to capture talk that I could microanalyze to discover identities as they were being constructed and to see how the author identity and other identities interacted. I also made field notes on many tutoring sessions and Authors Workshops between November 26 and June 10, 1997. To prepare for a close look at classroom conversations between 11/26/96 and 6/10/97, I audiotaped 17 ABE-only sessions , 14 Authors Workshops, and 14 ABE sessions held on days on which there was an Authors Workshop. While these tapes were made so I could microanalyze the talk I recorded, they were also useful in writing up field notes. (As a researcher who was also the lead tutor, it was not easy to make field notes on site.)

At my first opportunity, I wrote field notes based on my memory of what went on at the research site. Because I taped entire sessions, in most cases, I found the audiotapes an invaluable source of additions to and refinements of field notes. As I typed up field notes based on the tapes and other materials, like the plans for the ABE and Workshop Sessions for a given day, I took the opportunity to add theoretical notes (hereafter referred to as "TN's") in which I made early hypotheses and interpretations. I collected client compositions: group-authored pieces as well as individually authored pieces. I also collected copies of texts we read in the ABE sessions. Finally to gain insights into why certain identities became salient and others didn't, I interviewed primary participants, the clients and my co-tutor.

Because I did not complete gaining consent from clients until late November, the period during which I collected usable data began November 26, 1996. Because one of the primary participants left the program in late April, I made the cut-off date April 15, 1997 for field note and audiotape data I microanalyzed. I did, however, continue to collect data up through June, 1997 and I microanalyzed one classroom session from the period after April 15 as a way to test out the validity of my categories of identities.

c. Management of the Data

I used two sets of folders with pockets to keep my data organized. I used one set of folders to keep track of data related to ABE and Authors Workshop sessions and the other to keep track of data pertaining to the primary participants. To keep track of ABE and Workshop session data, I put any miscellaneous written materials that were connected to the sessions and field notes in the pockets. They came in handy to hold miscellaneous related written materials and also the tapes from the sessions at those times I was reviewing some aspect of the taped session. On a cover sheet for each of these folders, I wrote the date of the session, a brief synopsis of what happened in the session, noting whether the session had been taped or not and other information about the tapes, field notes, transcripts of session or excerpts of session, and names of clients and tutor(s) in attendance. I also logged all tapes so I could return to them and more easily extract important excerpts. I made several copies of my field notes and numbered each page consecutively so I could find and retrieve data that related to the author identity and salient identities which interacted with the author identity.

In the folders pertaining to primary participants, I kept the interview transcripts, xeroxed pages from field notes that contained useful data relating to that participant and, in the case of the clients, pieces they had authored.

d. Analysis of the Data

i. Overview. In this section, I discuss two primary methods of data analysis used in this study: thematic analysis of interviews, field notes, and excerpts of talk I included in my field notes; and the microanalyses of classroom sessions. At the outset, I want to emphasize that this is an exploratory, suggestive study not a definitive one. The thematic analyses of field notes, of selected transcripts of excerpts of talk, and of interview transcripts helped me select excerpts for microanalysis. While the thematic analysis offered insights into the identities that became salient for participants, findings that resulted from the microanalysis of transcript data demonstrated how these identities interacted and were constructed utterance by utterance. Furthermore, microanalysis gave me insight into how these identities were shaped by discourses, local ideologies--many of which are discourse-related--and speech acts.

ii. Thematic analysis of the data. There were three basic phases to my data analysis scheme. During data collection, I carried out a rudimentary analysis. I reviewed taped data and written field notes and made preliminary notes of several kinds: TN's which expressed early interpretive ideas, including categories, and Personal Notes (hereafter referred to as PN's) which allowed me to keep track of how I felt about my teaching, about the clients, and about the research. The TN's allowed me to keep a record of hypotheses regarding what I was "witnessing" through the lens of my field notes. I also made methodological notes (hereafter referred to as MN's) to keep track of logistical tasks that needed attention.

Following this preliminary analysis, two other phases occurred. Using field note and interview data and having narrowed down my focus to moments where author positioning was going on, I looked at the tutoring group Caroline and I facilitated as it interacted in two basically different learning contexts, ABE tutoring sessions and Authors Workshop sessions. To accomplish this, I coded my field note data for author and other salient identity positioning moves. This close look helped me select the sessions I focused on in my microanalysis and helped me select, after several "drafts" of my microanalysis scheme, some new categories to use in that microanalysis.

The other phase involved a thematic analysis of client and co-tutor interviews to gain a better understanding of clients taking up or being ascribed the author identity and other identities. I also carried out a thematic analysis of interviews with a staff member and two tutors to gain a "broad sweep" look at specific aspects of the agency culture that had an impact on the doings at our research site. The thematic analysis of interviews with client participants and my co-tutor required me to scan them for references to experiences of clients as authors; this scanning led me to a richer understanding of what happened when clients were given a chance to become authors, confirming some of the findings that resulted from early rounds of microanalysis. I thematically analyzed interviews with Sam and the two tutors, Patricia and Chris; this review yielded an understanding of agency-level beliefs about client authorship. The results from the thematic analysis of these interviews complemented what I learned from scanning client and co-tutor interviews about client experiences with authorship. The results from the interview with Patricia enriched my understanding of the experiences of one client, Avianca, because Avianca had served as an assistant tutor in Patricia's ESL group.

As I conducted this thematic analysis, I narrowed my coding to include only author and other positioning moves and identities. I saw three categories of identities emerging. These categories have come to be labelled Authorship, School, and Family. Once I had coded the field note data for positioning moves and kinds of identities, I counted, dated, and briefly characterized author positioning moves for each of the three primary client participants in the study. That list became an invaluable tool for locating and then selecting excerpts from classroom transcripts to microanalyze.

iii. Microanalysis of the data. To permit a close look at classroom interactions, I went beyond basic ethnographic strategies of making field notes, collecting artifacts, and interviewing participants and then conducting thematic analyses of that data. For my microanalysis, I made use of a method of discourse analysis based on a sociolinguistic approach to the microanalysis of conversational data. There were two formats for the microanalysis: I coded transcripts for identities and positioning moves; and I coded transcripts to identify speech acts, discourses, and local ideologies that occurred or were visible in the transcript excerpts. The second format for microanalysis, in concert with the first, helped to refine and enrich the more simplistic findings from the first microanalysis format.

To build a discourse analysis scheme which helped me review the classroom transcripts, I drew on educational research framed by an interactional sociolinguistics approach. One example of the kind of research that offered a particularly useful model for analyzing identity-constructing talk is Willett, Solsken, and Wilson Keenan's study (1996) of experiences related to inviting members of the families of students to share their knowledge in an elementary school classroom. Another study which serves, in a number of ways, as a foundation of my study is Bloome and Egan-Robertson's (1994) exploration of the social construction of intertexuality. The work of both studies is, in turn, based on the work of Green and Wallat (1981) relating to the analysis of instructional conversations. I will first discuss the relevance of Green and Wallat's work to my methodology and then discuss how Solsken, Willett and Wilson Keenan's and Bloome and Egan-Robertson's studies inform mine.

Green and Wallat outline the key concepts of their microanalysis scheme:

> More than content...is transmitted during instructional conversations. Social processes are also being constructed....These processes are constructed...and frequently co-occur with the presentation of content. (p. 161)

Their sociolinguistic ethnography permitted them to map evolving instructional conversations and to identify contexts and social action rules in class meetings in two kindergarten classrooms. Because my goals differed from Green and Wallat's, my methodology was based only on the first of these three concepts, mapping instructional conversations. Green and Wallat were interested in context identification and social rule identification while I focused on the construction of identities. Of the method of mapping instructional conversations, the aspects that I have adopted are: the "doing" aspect of the view of a message as a tripartite entity borrowed by Green and Wallat from McClellan (1971); identifying the form and strategy of a message; the importance of teacher control of turn-taking in instructional conversations; and the importance at looking at an interactional sequence. Unlike Green and Wallat, I blended the discovery of what a message is "doing"--via identifying form and strategy--with speech act theory but, like them, I focused on the interactional sequence.

My study also drew on the work of Solsken, Willett and Wilson Keenan (1996, 1998) as it relates to the formulation of a microanalysis methodology. This included the construction of a coding chart. Specifically, I adopted and adapted the following categories for my chart: form, function, subject position, social identity, and ideology. Furthermore, I borrowed from them the overall structure for my study in which a broad thematic analysis of field notes was followed by the utterance by utterance close reading of selected excerpts of conversation. The second phase of analysis offered the researchers another and more complete way of looking at what happened in the classroom sessions they studied.

Bloome and Egan-Robertson (1993) use five constructs in their study that are derived from the underlying idea that people act and react to each other. I have employed three in my study: the idea that the analytic unit is not the individual but an interaction among people; the idea that when people act, they are strategic in what they do; and the idea that people react, i.e., every action has consequences. Also, I use the idea that the actions and reactions people make to each other are primarily linguistic in nature, although I do not focus on the same aspects of language that they note: nonverbal features like gestures and language-related semiotic systems. Finally, an aspect of Bloome and Egan-Robertson's study that helped me refine my analysis categories was the distinction they found between school-based knowledge and knowledge based in non-school texts.

iv. Choice of excerpts of talk to microanalyze. To recap, I microanalyzed ABE tutoring and Authors Workshop sessions that occurred from the end of November 26, 1996 to April 15, 1997. I have audiotapes for ABE and Authors Workshop sessions up until 6/10/97, when collection of classroom data ended. I also microanalyzed an Authors Workshop from mid-May, 1997. I deliberately chose a session outside of the corpus of data I was focusing on because I wanted to check the validity of some of my coding categories by looking at such data. Participation data was taken into account when I chose which transcripts to microanalyze. That is, I tried to select a corpus of transcript data to analyze in which I would find as many interactions between and among as many participants as possible. So, I needed to choose a corpus of data where there had been a significant level of participant involvement in both ABE sessions and Authors Workshops.

v. Participation data. From 11/26/96 to 4/15/97 there were 14 ABE-only sessions and 18 ABE/Authors Workshop combination sessions for which I have data. The table below, Table 3.1, summarizes the level of participation in ABE and Authors Workshop sessions.

Table 3.1

Participation Levels

	ABE/AW	ABE Only	AW
Jolene	17	13	13
Avianca	18	11	11
Charles	12	2	11

The two reasons for the 11/26/96-4/15/97 parameters were that our first official Authors Workshop occurred on November 26, 1996 and that one of the primary client participants left the program suddenly to move down south at the end of April.

Out of the possible sessions between 11/26/96-4/15/97, I chose 12 to microanalyze. (See Table 3.2 below). I chose certain Authors Workshops from November 26, 1996 and April 15, 1997 to microanalyze because they contained a substantial amount of talk and because the talk, according to my thematic analysis of field note data, promised to include interesting positioning moves and responses to them, especially positioning moves involving identities from the School category and moves involving identities from the Authorship category. Finally, due to the fact that microanalysis would be a daunting method of analysis, I focused on a data set that was manageable. By limiting the time period from which I selected transcripts to microanalyze, I achieved that goal. While most of the transcripts I microanalyzed were of Authors

Workshop sessions, I selected the 3 ABE sessions and one combined ABE and Authors Workshop session to microanalyze because they, too, contained important author positioning moves.

Table 3.2

Classroom Sessions Microanalyzed

Authors Workshops I Microanalyzed

11/26/96
1/9/97
1/16/97
1/30/97
2/25/97
2/27/97
3/6/97
4/10/97

ABE Sessions I Microanalyzed	Combination AW and ABE I Microanalyzed
2/4/97	
2/11/97	2/20/97
3/25/97	

vi. Choice of talk excerpts to discuss. In this section, I discuss the process of selecting microanalyzed transcripts to discuss in the findings chapter. By the time I was drafting my findings chapter, my focus was squarely on identities which interfered with the author identity and on instances where other identities facilitated the taking up of the author identity. The microanalyses of talk from seven Authors Workshops, two ABE tutoring sessions, and one combined Authors Workshop and ABE session furnished me with the findings that relate to my third research question: When client participants position themselves and are positioned by others as authors, how is that positioning taken up? Which local identities, constructed and maintained through talk, facilitate or interfere with the taking up of the author identity?

So, from the total number of Authors Workshop and ABE tutoring sessions I microanalyzed, I chose excerpts from the following to discuss in my findings chapter:11/26/96, 1/9/97, 1/16/97, 1/30/97, 2/25/97, 3/6/97 and 4/10/97 (Authors Workshops); 2/11/97 (ABE-only); 2/20/97 (ABE and Authors Workshop).

vii. Transcription of episodes of talk. Choosing transcription conventions and the unit of analysis is critical to the analysis of transcribed talk. I transcribed tapes of conversational interactions using conventions borrowed from Davies (1993) that convey aspects of the taped conversations, such as pauses in the talk and the phenomenon of one addressee interrupting another addressee. (See Appendix C. for Transcription Conventions). For the unit of analysis I used "utterance of a speaker" as it was directed to one particular addressee. Thus the number of the utterance would change when the speaker changed or when the addressee changed and the speaker stayed the same. The reason I used the utterance of one speaker directed to one addressee as the unit of analysis--sometimes the addressee would refer to all clients and/or all tutors--is that when the addressee changed, even when the speaker did not, there was always the potential for at least one new positioning move to be produced. I needed a numbering scheme which allowed me to analyze that utterance separately should a new positioning move occur when the addressee changed and the speaker did not.

viii. Categories for coding the transcript data. My categories of identities and discourses were based on the ethnographic data I collected. In this section, I discuss the coding of my transcript data using these categories and then offer a description of each one. Finally, I provide one sample each of two different microanalysis charts accompanied by one excerpt from a transcript.

As the diagram in Chapter 2--where I suggest how the concepts guiding my analysis interconnect--indicates (See p. 42), the first analysis format identifies the identities taken up or assigned via positioning moves. Using the second format, I identify the discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts that appear to inform and constitute the positioning moves. There were too many different speech acts and local ideologies to make it possible to use the first format. That is, the number of local ideologies and speech acts made for a cumbersome chart; thus I had to design a chart which could accomodate all of them.

The first analysis format involved coding the transcripts using three categories of identities, Authorship, School, and Family. Those that belonged to the Authorship category include: author, scribe, editor, and oral composer.

Those that belonged to the School category include: skilled and unskilled speller, reader, and writer and compliant student, resisting student, and teacher. The third category, Family, includes the friendly sibling and the sibling rival.

The second analysis format involved coding the transcripts for the five discourses which made certain subject positions available at my site: Traditional Education, Liberal Empowerment, Therapeutic, Welfare Reform, and Traditional Marriage and Family. I also coded the data for local ideologies and speech acts at this level.

My categories grew out of emic and etic perspectives on identities, and the concepts of discourse, speech act, and local ideology as defined in studies and theoretical writings. Emic and etic perspectives on authorship influenced my choice and definition of the identities in that category: author, scribe, editor, and oral composer. My definition of author was etically derived from a study of adult literacy clients becoming authors (Gillespie, 1991) and some of the descriptive articles about literacy agencies' approaches to clients becoming authors. My definition of scribe was derived in part from the practices which I developed at the research site to support client authorship and in part from studies and articles which described the practice of children and adults, who cannot write on their own, dictating what they want to say to the teacher (see Nelson and Linek, 1999 for an extensive discussion of the Language Experience Approach to reading and writing). Choice of and definition of the oral composer identity was similarly derived from a practice we used at the research site and the literature on the use of the language experience approach to teaching reading and writing. Editor is both an identity which I borrowed from the field of publishing and one that developed at the research site.

Emic perspectives on what constituted a skilled reader, fluency in oral reading, and on what constituted a skilled writer--involves finding physical act of writing and the ability to spell words without tutor help--shaped my choice and definition of these identities. The identities of student and teacher were derived from my adaptation of Brodkey's (1996) definition of what she calls the Education discourse and from some of practices that developed at the research site. The compliant student identity developed out of a need to be able to refer to positioning moves and responses to positioning moves which involved clients not resisting tutor control of an activity and when they valued school-based skills and practices.

Emic and etic perspectives on mutual supportiveness of the tutoring group helped shape the identity of friendly sibling which came into play when participants helped each other in some way. Study participants, including tutors and staff, thought of the tutoring group in terms of a family, often alluding to the fact that it was like a family. Using this perspective, I chose the friendly sibling identity to represent identities in play when mutual supportiveness was occurring. This helping, supportive stance is linked to the Therapeutic and Liberal Empowerment discourses.

Emic perspectives on relationships which involved participants competing with each other or being in conflict with each other helped to shape my definition of the sibling rival identity.

The categories of discourse, local ideology, and speech act are derived from studies and theory related to sociolinguistic and feminist poststructuralist perspectives on research where moment to moment analysis of talk is the primary source of findings.

As suggested above, my analysis categories were built both from experiences at the research site and from the literature. As I thematically coded my field notes and selected transcripts, I refined my choices of and definitions of the identities in the three categories and honed my understanding of what should constitute those categories. Early micronalyses further refined my sense of the identities and the categories of identities.

While the concepts discourse, local ideology, and speech act were derived from studies and theory and are etic categories, the five discourses I used in the analysis of my data revealed themselves in the experiences at my site and were in part drawn from the literature. I came to my research knowing Brodkey's (1996) description of the Education discourse. When I saw positioning moves reminiscent of her description, I coded them as involving the Traditional Education discourse. The Liberal Empowerment discourse was derived largely from the literature relating to empowerment some of which revisits humanist liberal ideas beliefs about empowerment. Some critical pedagogies are linked to these beliefs about empowerment. These liberal ideas about empowerment constitute what I call the Liberal Empowerment discourse. I also came to this discourse from reflection on my own ideas relating to empowerment which took place over several years including the one in which I collected data for my study. This self-reflection revealed a set of ideas about the individual's having capacity for action to improve his or her life and about the tendency of institutional, societal, and political hierarchies to disempower people. The Therapeutic discourse is an etic category that I adapted from family therapy practices and self-help support groups. I came to the Welfare Reform discourse from my understandings of the practices and ideologies relating to welfare reform as it has been playing out in the state where the research took place. (See Murray, 1984, for a discussion of federal welfare reform outlining of these beliefs.) I also came to code for this discourse because of the impact these ideas and practices were having on study participants who were receiving welfare. The Traditional Marriage and Family discourse became recognizable largely as a result of conversations and behaviors of study participants at the research site relating to marriage and raising children.

Each utterance is numbered as one line. An utterance is the statement made by a speaker to an addressee. A new line number is also assigned to an utterance when the addressee changes and the speaker remains the same. I developed this adaptation from Green and Wallat's approach to the microanalysis of talk. I did not make the message unit the unit of analysis because I was looking for a way to focus on the ways a speaker positioned an addressee. Also, the discourses, ideologies, and speech acts were more visible when I took an entire utterance to one addressee as the unit of analysis. I also gave myself the flexibility to code an utterance for several discourses and local ideologies when appropriate. Davies and Harre (1990) was the source I used to help me address the multiple and sometimes contradictory aspects of utterances.

Below, in describing my Microanalysis Chart, Level 1, I offer brief descriptions of the identities and excerpts from transcripts to illustrate the positioning moves that led to these identities being taken up or ascribed. In Chapter 4, I discuss these identities and the categories they constitute in much greater detail.

MICROANALYSIS CHART, FORMAT 1.

Line: Indicates an utterance of the speaker to an addressee. When the speaker or the addressee changes during an utterance, there is a new line number.

Speaker: Client or Tutor.

Addressee: Client or Tutor. I use first initials to indicate person speaking and person addressed.

XXX. Indicates a break in the transcript.

Authorship Category

Author. An identity that involved having something to say worth publishing whether the piece is published or not; includes being knowledgeable about something.

Example: Tutor: Did you bring any of your many volumes of work with you today?....What do you want to work on? Client: I definitely want to get...going on my ...book.

Editor: An identity that occurred at moments when an individual might suggest changes in syntax, discuss the order in which a client wanted to present ideas or events, discuss a client's choice of words, supply the spelling of a word when asked by a client to do so, or generally promote the author identity.

Example: Tutor: [To client who is composing] I'll put a word up here [on the white board] if you come to it and you don't know it.

Scribe: An identity which involved such actions as typing a client's composition into the computer while it was orally rendered, typing up a client's handwritten piece, and making xerox copies of readings for and writings drafted in Authors Workshops.

Example: Tutor: So...we need to...get a little something from you....some more about, um, talk some more about growing up. Client: Okay. [Client begins dictating to tutor while tutor types what she says]. "When I was seven years old I was in the convent."

Oral composer. An identity that involved rendering a composition orally while the tutor typed it into the computer, using a practice popular in Adult Basic Education, the language experience approach.

Example: See Scribe.

School Category

Teacher: An identity that involved the tutor or client instructing clients, allocating turns, telling others what to do or choosing reading materials for the ABE sessions.

Example: Tutor: So you can pick a pattern like that...like Avianca's pattern [refers to a stock phrase Avianca was using to create a poem, "I remember"]...This is a pattern because of the repeat. For example, I remember when I was a little girl; I remember when I was hit by a car, etcetera. This is a way of writing your life story, too, in a very brief concise way, too.

Student +. Compliant student. An identity that involved valuing school-based knowledge, practices, and materials and that involved a client cooperating with the tutors.

Speller -: Unskilled speller. An identity that occurred when composer asked for the spelling of a word or was given a short spelling lesson.

Example: Client: It's hard for me to get this word, cahtoon [cartoon]...Tutor: All right now there's this "cuh" sound. [It] can either begin with a "c" or with a "k."

Writer +: Skilled writer. An identity that relates to the skill of writing easily physically, using pencil and paper, white board, or computer and to the ability to spell.

Example: Client: [Dictating to tutor as they sit at the computer] We feel that the other two [clients] should have been mentioned. Tutor: [Types the words for the client, repeating the client's words out loud as she does] We feel that the other two clients should have been mentioned.

Writer -. Unskilled writer. An identity that meant one had little ability to physically write easily and little ability with spelling words correctly on one's own.

Example: Client asks tutor for the spelling of the word, wrestling. Tutor: Wrestling? [Pause, while tutor writes out the word for client.] That's a hard one because it starts with a silent letter.

Family Category

Friendly Sibling: An identity that manifested itself in mutual support and respect between and among participants.

Example: [Clients and tutor have been discussing the fact that welfare case workers need to hear from welfare recipients about their experiences.] Client: (See) people don't understand. They got their own opinion about things....Because they won't know what you're going through. Tutor: [Affirming client] You've had the experience...too.

Sibling Rival. An identity where competition occurs between study participants.

Example: Tutor: And we were going to spend some, a little more time on the G.E.D., too. Client: (We could go over some of these words [From a list in the G.E.D. prep book]. Tutor:You'd like to work on some of the words.

Student -: Resisting student. An identity that involved clients resisting tutor directions when she took up the identity of teacher.

Example: Client: You know what? I wish this conversation [interview], in the future, in the future, I mean ( ) and my social worker read this, in the future, you know. Tutor : Why should they read it in the future? They should read it now! [Said emphatically.] Client: [To tutor, said emphatically] Whenever, whenever! [Tutor had been trying to persuade a client to send to her social worker an account of that client's prodigious efforts to juggle the job search, the raising of her son, and generally trying to make ends meet. The client initiates the idea herself and the tutor emphatically directs her to send the account now.]

Reader +. Skilled reader. An identity that occurred when client or tutor read fluently and correctly every word.

Example: Any extended moment of client or tutor reading proficiently according to definition above.

Reader - . Unskilled reader. An identity that occurred when client asked for or was given help with reading.

Example: Client:....[Reading] I am the one who loves to help everybody. I am the one who think [sic] about my, my, Tutor: [supplying client with word] son's Client: [repeating after the tutor] son's Tutor: [supplies word] future. Client:[repeating after the tutor] future.

Speller +. Skilled speller. An identity which occurred when a person could write something without having to ask for help or to look up the spelling of a word.

Example: Any word(s) written down or orally rendered which was spelled correctly.

Example: Client [Talking about her experiences as a welfare recipient] And then I be on my own, working hard....I only be on the state 7 years....7 years. I ain't gonna lie. [This client had earlier characterized another study participant on welfare as being a welfare "cheat." Client makes this statement to distinguish herself from the other client, at the same time seeking the tutor's favorable opinion.]

MICROANALYSIS CHART, FORMAT 2.

Line: Indicates an utterance of the speaker to an addressee. When the speaker or the addressee changes during an utterance, there is a new line number.

XXX. Indicates a break in the transcript.

Discourse: Sets of beliefs about and generalized ways of seeing phenomena at the level of culture that seem natural or commonsensical but are actually artifacts of a culture.

Examples: The Traditional Education, Liberal Empowerment, Therapeutic, Traditional Marriage and Family, and Welfare Reform discourses. (The ways in which these discourses became manifest at the research site will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.)

Speech Act (s): Identifies purposeful social action taking place via language in an utterance or part of an utterance that is sometimes linked to discourses and local ideologies.

Examples: "instruct," "direct," "acknowledge uncertainty."

Local Ideology: A practice or a belief about a phenomenon which arises from a local setting and is sometimes linked to discourses and speech acts.

Examples: "Tutor can allocate turns." "Clients own their work."

ix. Examples of Transcript Coding Charts and Analyses. What follows is a discussion of two transcript excerpts. This discussion will demonstrate how the microanalysis using my two formats of coding charts yields important findings about the positioning of clients as authors in light of positionings that construct other identities for them and for the tutors. [See examples of Format 1 and Format 2 coding charts, Figures 3.3 and 3.4., pp. 131-132.]

In this section, after I present the transcript excerpts from an Authors Workshop that took place on 11/26/96, I offer interpretations of these excerpts based on microanalyses contained in the Format 1 and Format 2 coding sheets.

021 **SWS:** So, the idea is that when we were doing that, there was a rhythm that got going and you rather liked doing it because of that and that's one of the pleasures of poetry (   ) the repeating idea of poetry, uhm.

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

026 **SWS:** Uhm, this group here might decide, this Authors Workshop might decide to put out a book also of writings....So this is the same idea in that there is a repeat here, uh. [Reading from an anthology of writings from another literacy program.] I remember my sister had a little dog....I remember I was in the street. I remember when I looked out the window....So you can pick up a pattern like that, just as a way to get started, uhm....This is a way of writing your life story, too, in a very brief, short, brief concise way, too.

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

037 **SWS:** OK, Charles?

038 **Charles:** [Reading] I am the one who loves to help

039 **Avianca:** >> [Reading] everybody.

040 **Charles:** who loves to help everybody.
Continue?

041 **SWS:** Yah.

042 **Avianca:** You gotta do (   ).

043 **Charles:** Oh, oh, sorry. [Reading] I am the one
who loves to help everybody. I am the one who /
think about my, my, / so

044 **SWS:**[Reading] son's

045 **Charles:** son's

046 **SWS:** [Reading] future.

047 **Charles:** future.

048 **SWS:** >> OK? Eleanor, the next one. [I cut
Charles off as he begins to read the next one.]

The first excerpt, lines 21 abd 26, demonstrates a moment of my positioning myself as a teacher and clients as students. The Format 1 coding chart yields the following findings. At line 21, I am offering clients school-based knowledge and, thereby, positioning myself as teacher and clients as compliant students. At the same time, by inviting them to participate in the Authors Workshop session, I position them as authors. At line 26, I also position myself as teacher and clients as students when I again imform them about poetry as a genre.

In the second excerpt, lines 37-48, a client positions himself as a student. At line 37, I position myself as teacher by allocating a turn to Charles. Directly after my positioning of Charles as student, he positions himself as student. After responding to help from Avianca with the reading, Charles asks me if he should continue reading, positioning me as teacher and himself as student; this move references the Traditional Education discourse. When I answer "Yah" I sustain the two identities and also reference the Traditional Education discourse. At line 48, I cut Charles off in order to give another client an opportunity to read; I take up the position of teacher rather than having it ascribed to me. Two other identities from the School category are: skilled and unskilled reader. When I say "Yah" at line 41 in answer to his question at line 40, I position Charles as skilled reader. At line 43, he is having trouble with the reading; I position him as unskilled reader when I help him decode the words.

Most of the identities in these excerpts of talk are identities from the School category which is striking given the fact the clients and I are engaged in an Authors Workshop session. The Authors Workshops were intended to promote identities in the Authorship category not the School category. The exception to ascribing School category identities occurs when I position the clients as authors at line 26; I offer the idea that perhaps this group of clients will have their work published in an anthology like the one we are reading from during this excerpt of talk.

The Format 2 coding chart yields the following findings. At line 21, I use the speech act, "instruct," and referencing the local ideology that the "tutor knows best." In line 26, however, I both instruct the clients about poetry and invite them to consider their putting together a book of their writings similar to the one from which I am reading, thus positioning them as authors. From lines 37-48, several different speech acts are involved as the clients respond to utterances addressed to them by the tutor and by other clients. At line 37, the tutor uses the speech act, "direct," to indicate who has the next turn thus invoking the local ideology, "tutors can allocate turns." At line 39, a client provides a word for another client, referencing the local ideology that clients can help each other. At line 40, a client uses the speech act, "ask question." He asks whether he should continue thus taking up the local ideology "tutors can allocate turns." At line 42, a client uses the speech act, "direct," to tell another client what to do, thereby taking up the teacher identity and referencing, simultaneously, the local ideology "clients can help each other." At line 44, the client is having trouble with the reading and the tutor provides the word. This continues with lines 45, 46, and 47. The local ideology referenced here is that "tutors can help clients read." At line 48, the tutor uses the speech act, "direct," again; she designates the next reader thus referencing again the local ideology, "tutors can allocate turns."

Figure 3.1
Sample Microanalysis Format 1

AW 11/26/96

Line	21	XXX	26	XXX	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
SPEAKER														
Client						C	A	C		A	C		C	
Tutor	S		S		S				S			S		S
IDENTITIES														
AUTHORSHIP														
Author														
Editor			*											
Scribe														
Oral comp														
SCHOOL														
Teacher	*		*		*				*	*		*		*
Student +/-								+			-			
Reader +/-						+	+					+	-	+
Speller +/-														
Writer +/-														
FAMILY														
Sibling +/-														
ADDRESSEE														
Client	all		all		C	all	C		C	C	A	C		C
Tutor						S		S					S	
IDENTITIES														
AUTHORSHIP														
Author														
Editor			*											
Scribe														
Oral comp														
SCHOOL														
Teacher														
Student +/-	+							*			*		*	
Reader +/-			+		+				+	-		-		-
Speller +/-							-					-	+	-
Writer +/-														
FAMILY														
Sibling +/-														

Figure 3.2
Sample Microanalysis Format 2

AW 11/26/96

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
21	instruct	Traditional Education	tutors know best
XXX			
26	invite, instruct	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	tutors know best
XXX			
37	direct	Traditional Education	tutors control turns
38	reads	Traditional Education	
39	provide word	Traditional Education	clients can help each other
40	read/ask quest.	Traditional Education	tutors control turns
41	answer question	Traditional Education	
42	direct	Traditional Education	clients can help each other
43	apologize	Traditional Education	
44	provide word	Traditional Education	tutors can help clients read
45	reads	Traditional Education	
46	provide word	Traditional Education	tutors can help clients read
47	request word	Traditional Education	
48	direct	Traditional Education	tutors control turns

E. Summary of Methods Chapter

In this chapter, I have discussed the setting and participants involved in this study. The setting was an adult literacy classroom located at a public school in a poverty-stricken area of a medium-sized city in the Northeastern United States. Participants included clients, tutors, and staff members from an adult literacy agency also located in this city.

I have also discussed the data collection and data analysis methods I used in my study. In the discussion of the data collection and the data analysis methods, I show how my feminist poststructuralist theoretical framework was combined with a sociolinguistic method of analysis to get a detailed look at how author positioning moves were affected by other identities at my research site and by speech acts, discourses, and local ideologies. I have also discussed the ethnographic methods I used including interviews and field notes. These strategies of data collection and analysis support the microanalysis of talk that illustrates the moment by moment construction of identities for study participants. Such interactions and positionings are at the heart of this study.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the findings from my thematic analysis of the data and those that derived from the microanalysis of talk amongst study participants. Chapter 5 begins with a brief review of the findings as they relate to each research question. Then, I discuss what my study might contribute to the researching of empowering practices especially those involving writing. Finally, I suggest what my study contributes to the practice of educating clients of adult literacy agencies in a way that permits them to retain a sense of self-respect and develop a sense of empowerment from their experiences in programs run by these agencies.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

A. Introduction

In this chapter, I describe what happened when study participants were positioned and positioned themselves as authors and when they were positioned or positioned themselves as having other identities. These other identities ascribed to them or taken up by them often came into play at the same time as author positioning was occurring. Sometimes they interfered with the author identity and sometimes they facilitated the taking up of the author identity. This report of findings is based on field notes, interviews, and the analysis of excerpts of talk from Authors Workshops and Adult Basic Education (ABE) tutoring sessions that occurred over the course of a nine-month period.

My research questions are:

1. What are the agency-wide beliefs and practices related to clients becoming authors?
2. What are the categories of salient identities constructed for and by study participants at the research site and what discourses do they represent?
3. When client participants position themselves and are positioned by others as authors, how is

> that positioning taken up? Which identities, constructed and maintained through talk, facilitate or interfere with the taking up of this identity?

In the first section of this chapter, I answer my first research question. Then, in the second section, I describe discourses visible at the research site and then identify and discuss the three main categories of identities constructed through talk at the research site over the course of the study. In the third and most important section of the chapter, I answer my third research question. I report findings related to what happens when participants are ascribed or take up the author identity. Specifically, I examine how the author identity is affected by other salient identities at the research site. These third section findings derive from the microanalyses of excerpts of talk which occurred in Authors Workshops and Adult Basic Education tutoring sessions. I will discuss how the instances of author positioning were affected by the taking up of other identities as well as how the different positionings related to empowerment and status.

B. Agency Beliefs and Practices Related to Client Writing

1. Overview

In this section, I answer my first research question: "What are the agency-wide beliefs and practices related to clients becoming authors?" To do so, I report findings from interviews which describe the larger agency culture with respect to client authorship. I include this set of findings here because the ideologies and practices that constitute the agency-wide conception of client authorship had an impact on what happened when clients were given opportunities to become authors at the research site.

2. Publication of Client Pieces

For several years before my study began and under the auspices of the former manager of the agency's primary site, the Reading Center, client writings and language experience stories were frequently collected from group and one-on-one tutors. Eventually, these compositions were published in book form by the local newspaper. Entitled *Welcome to our World* (1991), this was the first book of client writings published by the agency. I was the compiler and editor of that anthology. Publishing client work and interviews with clients has become an oft-used practice at the agency. There have been a half dozen such books published to date, most of which were produced through the efforts of the reading center's former manager.

Subsequent to my data collecting at the research site, the agency published a book of works by clients, all of whom attended classes at the research site. The publication of client work references the Liberal Empowerment discourse insofar as it is expected to empower clients by giving them higher self-esteem. This self-esteem is supposed to derive from having their work noticed by other clients and readers beyond the research site.

Sam Brown helped facilitate some Authors Workshops and the publication of client work and thus had an impact on the positioning of client participants as authors. He was trying to sustain the legacy of the former Reading Center manager's interest in client writing and the practice of publishing client work and interviews. He typically helped those few tutors who wished to introduce writing into their classes, and has also served as the staff support person for several books of client writings. In addition to supporting writing in these ways, this staff member has produced a book of interviews with clients which served as reading material for tutoring groups. It was originally prepared as documentation to assist a funding organization in evaluating the agency's request for funds. While not a book of client compositions, per se, this book of client interviews is based in part on the agency-wide belief that clients have valuable knowledge to share. This belief is a fundamental element in my definition of author, as well.

3. Tutor and Client Reluctance to Include Writing in Tutoring Sessions

Data from interviews with Sam Brown and tutors, Chris Lopez and Patricia Smith, revealed that many tutors were reluctant to work on writing with their students. Such tutor reluctance stems, in some cases, from a lack of expertise on the tutors' part. A volunteer tutor I interviewed for the study included this comment, in passing, at the end of the interview, and after I had explained my study to her: "I think that we don't do anywhere near enough writing because we are uncomfortable with it." In other cases, teaching reading is believed to be the priority and client writing is viewed as an interruption of that goal. The data that supports this claim occurred in informal conversations over the course of the several years I tutored at the agency. It occurred during the study when I facilitated a workshop on the teaching of writing for tutors at another school. Those tutors were not participants in the study.

A third reason for tutors' reluctance is the difficulty their students experience when they try to write. Sometimes, clients find the mechanics of writing--even something as rudimentary as forming the letters on the page--a daunting task and an obstacle to composing. The fact that the act of writing is difficult for many of the clients, regardless of their reading level, came up several times in two of the interviews: the one with Sam Brown and another with Chris Lopez, a paid tutor. In addition, Sam Brown claimed that tutors are not sure how to get students to write. In addition, he explained that clients are uncomfortable with writing and need some nudging. He says, "It's a balancing act of being responsive to your students [as well as] *pushing* them a little. They will probably get comfortable with it [writing]" (my emphasis). Client reluctance was also born out of an embarassment about poor spelling.

In addition to tutor and student reluctance to do writing, two other themes related to clients as authors emerged from interviews and informal conversations with Sam

Brown. These themes were: a.) the definition of the term authorship; and b.) the perceived value to clients of becoming authors. While not a theme in the interviews, there was one extended allusion, in an interview, to a tutor using writing as a way to teach grammar and spelling.

Sam Brown's definitions of authorship and the perceived value to the client of becoming an author are important to note here. He had a significant opportunity to influence clients' experiences with becoming authors because he, of all staff members, had the most contact with clients at our site, especially Charles, Georgia, and Avianca. I asked Sam Brown how he defined the term, "author," within the context of the agency. He replied, "Written or spoken, something comes out of their [clients'] mind and creativity."

The staff offered several explanations of why clients valued an opportunity to be authors. These explanations are not completely separable from definitions of authorship circulating at the agency level. One value to clients that was cited was the desire for personal self-expression. The former manager of the Reading Center, who had worked to establish the precedent for publication of client work, explained in the Preface to one of the agency's books of student writings, "What this anthology demonstrates. . .is the richness, vitality, and poignancy of the complex lives and diversity of interests *that adult literacy learners are so desirous to express among themselves and with all others who genuinely care to listen*" [My emphasis] (LVGH, 1995, p. i). Sam Brown explained that it is meaningful for [clients] to see their words written up and shared with other people, "even to share it with other classes," to know that that is happening, that their work is being read and talked about. In response to a question about empowerment through becoming authors, however, he explained that there are "degrees and variations on what empowerment can mean: speaking in public [and] changing one's life, taking charge of one's life." He went on to say that in the context of the agency, publication does not necessarily empower clients in these ways. Instead, according to Brown, the empowerment is more personal; personal stories are most likely to be empowering for clients of the agency. This view of authorship references the Liberal Empowerment discourse in that it views the act of composing as an action taken by a client in which the client draws on her or his own thinking. A poststructuralist view of authorship would view the agency being utilized in such an action as partial and as curtailed by other identities ascribed to or taken up by clients during a spate of composing.

Agency-wide beliefs about the value of authorship to clients impacted the identity of author as it became salient at the research site, especially when Sam talked with clients at meetings devoted to a discussion of the Authors Workshop and the publication of the Park Street School clients' work. Besides his presence at these meetings, he also helped out occasionally during an Authors Workshop session, working with some of the clients as they composed pieces.

4. Summary

Findings from the thematic analysis of interviews with tutors and staff members generally answered the question: How is client authorship conceived of at the agency level? The publication of client work, including transcribed interviews involving them, was an oft-used practice at the agency. Sam Brown, the staff liason to the Park Street School program, was trying to sustain the legacy of the former Reading Center manager's interest in client writing by continuing to compile and publish client work. He was frequently at the research site, tutoring, attending meetings related to the Authors Workshop and the publication of Park Street client work. He also occasionally helped clients with their writing during an Authors Workshop.

In spite of the enthusiasm of agency staff and some tutors for facilitating client authorship, there was in the agency some reluctance on the part of both tutors and clients to involve themselves in client composing projects. Data from interviews with Brown and tutors Chris Lopez and Patricia Smith revealed that many tutors were reluctant to work on writing with their students. Such tutor reluctance stems, in some cases, from a lack of expertise on the tutors' part and also from the fact that teaching reading was believed to be the priority. Client writing was viewed as an interruption of that goal. A third reason for tutors' reluctance was that the physical act of writing was often difficult enough to discourage both clients and tutors. Clients were reluctant also because they were embarrassed about their spelling.

Sam Brown's definition of authorship was, "Written or spoken, something comes out of their [clients'] mind and creativity." Several explanations of why clients valued an opportunity to be authors occurred in the interviews upon which these findings summarized here are based. Personal self-expression and seeing their words written up and shared with other people were two such explanations. In response to a question about empowerment, Brown explained that there are "degrees and variations on what empowerment can mean: speaking in public [and] changing one's life, taking charge of one's life." According to Brown, publication does not necessarily empower clients in these ways. Instead, the empowerment is more personal.

Thus, agency-wide beliefs and practices relating to client authorship significantly impacted what happened when clients were invited to become authors at the research site. Especially significant to what happened were the agency ideas about, and its tradition of, publishing client pieces, a history of tutor and client reluctance to include writing in tutoring sessions, and definitions of authorship and beliefs about the value to agency clients of becoming authors.

C. Categories of Identities Constructed at the Site and the Discourses They Represent

1. Introduction

The purpose of this section is to describe the discourses and salient identities operating at the research site and to explain how they were visible there. That is, in this section, I answer my second research question, "What are the categories of salient identities constructed for and by study participants at the research site and what discourses do they represent?" The section has two parts. First, I describe the five discourses that affected the identity/positioning moves that took place via talk during Authors Workshops and ABE tutoring sessions. After I have described the discourses, I then move on to discuss in detail three categories of identities constructed by and through talk at the research site.

When, during the discussion to follow, I use data from the interviews with clients, other tutors, and staff members, I use it with the understanding that in the interactions that constitute the interviews, clients, tutors, and staff were positioning themselves and representing themselves and others much as they would in any other conversational interaction.

2. Discourses Visible at Research Site

a. Overview

In this section, I discuss the discourses represented by the author identity and other identities that had an impact on the efforts to position clients as authors. To recap the discussion of the concept, discourse, I build my definition of discourse by borrowing from Davies and Harre (1990), Foucault (1977), Davies (1993), and Brodkey (1996) and have synthesized a definition of the concept, discourse, that has served this study. I see discourses as generalized ways of perceiving and construing phenomena subscribed to by large groups of people at the level of culture. While Foucault, Davies and Harre, Davies, and Brodkey don't limit their definition of discourse to a generalized way of perceiving and construing phenomena, they do acknowledge that certain discourses have such culture-level currency. Discourses construct and make available certain subject positions or social identities.

Positioning of clients as authors so that they derive a sense of status can be affected by discourses operating in the larger culture. Discourses positioned study participants, helping to construct identities that provided or took away status. The five discourses which were visible in, and linked to identities at the research site, include: the Traditional Education, Liberal Empowerment, Therapeutic, Welfare Reform, and Traditional Marriage and Family discourses. The discourses most often invoked at the research site were the Traditional Education discourse and the Liberal Empowerment discourse, so I will discuss them first.

b. The Traditional Education Discourse

Borrowing from Brodkey (1996), I have labelled one of the discourses visible at the research site, the Traditional Education discourse. Brodkey does not use the term "traditional" but her definition suggests that the Education discourse as she conceptualizes it could be called the Traditional Education discourse. She writes:

> That educational discourse grants teachers authority over the organization of language in the classroom, which includes such commonplace privileges as allocating turns, setting topics, and asking questions, is clear from sociolinguistic studies of classroom language interaction (e.g. Stubbs, 1976). (p. 92)

Thus, the Traditional Education discourse represents a way of thinking about education that is traditional or conventional. The Traditional Education discourse is best thought of as the discourse that makes its influence felt in a hierarchy which subordinates students to teachers; and when school-based skills, and capacities, like knowing how to spell, are valued above non-school based skills and capacities such as being able to give powerful and eloquent oral testimony on an issue or being able to fix a car engine.

The Traditional Education discourse makes available most of the identities within the School category, one of the categories of salient identities constructed for and by clients. Included in the School category are the identities of skilled and unskilled reader, speller, and writer. The category also included the compliant and resisting student and teacher identities.

One of the manifestations of the Traditional Education discourse, is that school-based skills are valued over experience-based knowledge. For example, when I typed client-authored pieces for clients, I demonstrated that I had reading and typing skills the clients didn't have. The way in which the task was set up made the clients dependent on me for its completion. While at one level, this can be viewed as collaboration between clients and tutor, when viewed in light of the Traditional Education discourse, it appears that I occupied a higher status than the clients did because of my skills. In another instance of the valuing of school-based literacy skills being promoted, Avianca and Jolene chose to work on pre-G.E.D. readings and exercises. In both cases, the school-literate person is viewed more favorably than the literacy client. Instances of a referencing of the Traditional Education discourse occurred when Jolene requested that I correct her spelling and punctuation. The Traditional Education discourse is at work in these instances because Jolene is valorizing Standard Written English, a value linked to the Traditional Education discourse which places the emphasis on the school-based skills of proper spelling and punctuation rather than on content.

This manifestation of the Traditional Education discourse is especially relevant in an educational setting involving clients of adult literacy programs. Scholars and practitioners alike have attested to the distinction made between school-based literacy skills and life experience and community-based expertise (Fingeret, 1983; Peck et al., 1994; Gaventa, 1993; Lytle, 1991).

Another manifestation of the Traditional Education discourse occurred in those frequent instances when the tutor took control of classroom doings. Many instances of this behavior emerged throughout the study. One recurring example involved the tutor allocating turns when we were reading or when we were involved in a large group composing project.

The Traditional Education discourse was also manifested in the group reading format. Clients and tutors sat in a circle and clients read out loud, one after the other, round robin style, from a common text. This format was often used by other tutors at the agency. Clients strove for word-for-word accuracy and tutors usually went along with this effort. This practice led to a definition of reading and to a standard by which clients judged themselves as readers. This manifestation of the Education discourse--word-for-word accuracy--was "echoed" by the clients' approach to spelling when they were writing. Most clients had a very hard time with writing a word as they heard it; they wanted the correct spelling of each word as they drafted their pieces.

c. The Liberal Empowerment Discourse

There are four aspects of the Liberal Empowerment discourse as it manifested itself at my site: 1) beliefs about the universality of how oppression impacts people and degree of agency one has to fight against it; 2) a belief that literacy clients are capable and knowledgeable and should be accorded the status that goes with these capacities; 3) a belief that clients should be offered some control over activities they participate in and over their reading material; and 4) a tension related to status between some of the manifestations of the Liberal Empowerment discourse.

I borrow from Davies (1993), Weiler (1994), Weedon (1987), and Lather (1990) to ground my discussion of the first aspect of this discourse. Underlying the Liberal Empowerment discourse is an assumption that both the problem of oppression and the solutions to it are universal. Weiler (1994) writes:

> Paulo Freire['s]...theoretical works...provide classic statements of liberatory or critical pedagogy based on universal claims of truth....[I]n action, the goals of liberation...have not always been easy to understand or achieve. As universal goals, these ideals do not address the specificity of people's lives; they do not directly analyze the contradictions between conflicting oppressed groups or the ways in which a single individual can experience oppression in one sphere while being privileged or oppressive in another. (p.13)

The practice of inviting clients to become authors is one such empowering strategy being used across literacy programs as if it has a universal efficacy to empower literacy clients.

Furthermore, the Liberal Empowerment discourse, deriving from a humanist perspective, is constituted of the belief that an individual has the agency necessary to make changes in his or her life. Davies (1993) wrote of elementary school children believing in the humanist discourse in that they assumed they had agency that could be used to resist confining gender discourses. Linked to beliefs about agency at my research site is the belief that a tutor can, by offering choices to clients, provide an opportunity for the exercise of agency in an educational setting and, thereby, for the attainment of status.

The Liberal Empowerment discourse involves neither a distrust of generalized truth claims suggested by such theory nor the concept of the limits on agency suggested by feminist postructuralist theory. The Liberal Empowerment discourse is therefore defined, in part, by the way it contrasts with feminist postructuralist theory, as the latter pertains to a person's degree of agency and the constructed nature of reality represented by generalized, naturalized truth claims. Like Freire (1990) and members of the Frankfurt School Adorno and Horkeimer (1972), feminist poststructuralist theorists tend to locate oppression in the person. Feminist poststructuralist theorists hold that one source of that internalized oppression is the impact of discourses which are largely invisible because they represent naturalized ways of thinking about phenomena. The Liberal Empowerment discourse is one such discourse.

The second aspect of the Liberal Empowerment discourse as it expressed itself at the research site is the ideology that persons who are poor, illiterate, and marginalized are not automatically deficient (Fingeret, 1983; Freire, 1990). This aspect of the Liberal Empowerment discourse manifested itself at the research site when clients were viewed as capable and knowledgeable and when they were invited to participate in Authors Workshops. My definition of author is based in part on this belief in client proficiency which expressed itself at my site when the value of what clients, individually and in groups, know and have to say was promoted.

The third aspect of the Liberal Empowerment discourse that manifested itself at my site was the offering to clients of the opportunity to make choices related to activities and readings. This practice was based on the belief that clients were knowledgeable and capable of choosing wisely. When a tutor offered clients a voice in identifying activities they wished to participate in, or in identifying what they wanted to read, the belief that clients are resourceful and knowledgeable was expressed. Clients responded in three different ways to being given a choice. One response was to accept the opportunity to make a choice; a second response was to relinquish the opportunity to make a choice; and a third response was to initiate a plan of action for the rest of us to consider. When clients accepted the opportunity to make a choice or when they initiated a plan, the Liberal Empowerment discourse was manifesting itself. The Liberal Empowerment discourse also manifested itself in my usual reponse to client-initiated plans/choices: acquiescence.

The fourth aspect of the Liberal Empowerment discourse is a tension within the discourse with respect to status. Clients were positioned as capable and knowledgeable, but they were also positioned as needing empowerment. Someone who is viewed as needing to be empowered will have a lower status than someone who is treated as knowledgeable and capable. Positioning clients as needing empowerment was as important a premise behind the creation of the Authors Workshop as was viewing clients as knowledgable and capable. Thus, in my setting, in some manifestations, the Liberal Empowerment discourse imputed an equity in status between tutor and clients. In other manifestations, it did not offer equal status. This difference reflected a tension in the discourse as it manifested itself at the research site.

d. The Therapeutic Discourse

Clients and tutors alike often referred to the ambiance of the agency's tutoring groups as like that of a family. That is, the concept of family served as a metaphor to characterize much of the interaction in the tutoring group. The implication is that the tutoring group doubled as a support group for clients. That is, clients use of the term "family feeling" referred to the largely supportive and harmonious ambiance of the tutoring group. The term "family feeling" closely resembles the language used by counselors and therapists, especially, but not exclusively, those who treat families. Thus, I have chosen to call the set of beliefs related to "family feeling" the Therapeutic discourse. I have drawn my sense of this discourse from Willett and Jeannot (1993). Willett and Jeannot, interested in what caused "resistance to taking a critical stance" in teacher education classes, describe a "language of care" which muted the "language of critique" in those classes (p. 477). They write:

> Stories about groups providing comfort, healing, and solidarity have been much more common than stories about groups working through issues or challenging one another's perspectives...[Women students] understand the language of care and are concerned with ways of talking and interacting that build and maintain relationships (p. 486)

The language of care, as described by Willett and Jeannot, was used by both clients and tutors in their interactions. This discourse is akin to ways of being and talking in support groups using what could be collectively called "self-help therapeutic practices." These ways of being and talking were evident at the research site.

During episodes of talk when clients were sympathetic with and supportive of each other and when tutors were supportive of clients, the Therapeutic discourse was manifesting itself. The Therapeutic discourse was manifested frequently over the course of the study, especially when clients and/or tutors hailed the importance of group solidarity and when clients were viewed or viewed each other as having problems. Finally, the Therapeutic discourse became visible when the friendly sibling identity was in play.

e. The Welfare Reform Discourse

The Welfare Reform discourse is made up of a set of beliefs revolving around the welfare system and recipients of welfare. A comprehensive and focused articulation of these beliefs occurs in Murray's *Losing Ground* (1984) in which he outlines a plan and the beliefs behind a plan to end federal welfare programs. One of these beliefs is that people should earn what they want out of life; a related belief is that capitalism and individualism are the key to bettering one's life. There is also the belief that getting a job is the important step as opposed to staying on assistance and continuing one's education. Another belief is that welfare recipients, especially "welfare mothers," were for the most part deficient human beings. Based on these beliefs, the thrust of welfare reform, as it played out in a number of states at the time of the study, including our own state, was to put as many welfare recipients as possible to work as soon as possible. This aspect of welfare reform was made mandatory, regardless of the negative consequences for some people, i.e., making less money and losing some benefits by going off welfare.

Welfare Reform, as it is still playing out in our state, also makes it mandatory that welfare recipients prove, by documenting their efforts on a form, that they have looked for a job. The Welfare Reform discourse, by "insisting" that getting a job was more important than getting more education, made the job search and getting the G.E.D. frequent topics of conversation during basic tutoring group sessions and Authors Workshops. The belief in the advantages of getting the G.E.D. often emerged at times when clients talked about being rebuffed, in the course of job-hunting, by prospective employers because they did not have high school diplomas. Another belief that emerged when one client positioned another as a deficient job-seeker was that getting a job of any kind was better than no job. So the Welfare Reform discourse manifested itself at those times when a client chided another client for not having been a more aggressive job-seeker and pressed her to go to job interviews. Conversely, it was also made manifest when a client represented herself as a proficient jobseeker, i.e., as having avidly sought employment. Thus, because finding a job was such a pressing matter, the search occupied more attention during ABE sessions and Authors Workshops than it might have, had clients not been so preoccupied with finding work.

At times, clients resisted the belief that getting a job was more important than getting an education when they repeatedly claimed that their education came first and that they did not want to give it up. It could be argued that they were invoking the Traditional Education Discourse as a way to justify not taking up positions constructed by the Welfare Reform discourse.

f. The Traditional Marriage and Family Discourse

A final discourse, which I call the Traditional Marriage and Family discourse, also had an impact on the taking up of several identities by clients. This discourse was manifested in two beliefs expressed at the research site: the belief that being married is better than being single and the belief that "good mothers" stay at home and care for children. Instances of clients talking about themselves as "good mothers" are also linked to this discourse.

Marriage was a significant topic in conversations involving two of the study participants and me, as well as in an interview with one of them. A desire to be married was a frequent topic both in informal conversations and digressions from the mainstream of talk during the ABE tutoring sessions. The desire to be married also arose at times, during Authors Workshop sessions, when the topic was life experiences.

The fact that marriage was a topic of conversation over the course of the study for two clients suggests to me that what I call the Traditional Marriage and Family discourse was impacting clients' taking up or being ascribed the identities which became salient at the research site. That marriage was frequently a topic is noteworthy given the fact that the focus of the study was clients becoming authors, and the primary purpose of the ABE tutoring group was to improve reading, writing, and math skills.

Being a "good mother" was also a topic of conversation; several episodes of such talk surfaced during both the basic tutoring group sessions and the Authors Workshop. Two women clients prided themselves on choosing to stay home and care for their children rather than work when their children were young. These two kinds of representations of family life demonstrate that the clients who used them were taking up positions made available by the Traditional Marriage and Family discourse.

g. Intersections of Discourses

Brodkey (1996), borrowing from Hall (1986), postulated that an individual could be the site of several or many "intersecting" discourses. Two clients in particular were the sites for the intersection of the Traditional Education and Welfare Reform discourses. These two intersecting discourses conflicted with one another when the worry and chore of clients finding employment took attention away from time they spent on "school." The Traditional Marriage and Family discourse also intersected with the Welfare Reform discourse in several conversations about welfare mothers and child support. Expressed in such conversations was the belief that single-parent families who are not supported by the husband or the father of the children are part of the welfare problem. Another belief expressed in this conversation was that "What we want, we have to earn," thus supporting the belief, related to the Welfare Reform discourse, that working for a living is a source of pride. In the same conversation, a contradiction of this belief appeared when clients expressed pride about being "stay at home" moms. These constitute important manifestations of the intersection of two discourses, the Traditional Marriage and Family discourse and the Welfare Reform discourse.

3. Categories of Identities Constructed at the Research Site

a. Introduction

In this section I continue to answer my second research question: What are the categories of salient identities constructed for and by study participants at the research site and what discourses do they represent? As the question suggests, the categories of identities discussed here represent certain discourses and are largely constructed by invoking these discourses via related local ideologies and using discourse-related speech acts. Though they represent discourses, the identities from three Authorship, School, and Family, were generated by acts of positioning in the conversational interactions that constituted the specific and local social life of our tutoring group. In the course of defining my coding terms for my microanalysis chart in

Chapter 3, I have briefly defined identities belonging to the three categories. Here I discuss them in greater detail, demonstrating how the categories and the identities belonging to them became salient and linking them to discourses discussed above, where appropriate.

Each of the three categories of identities I discuss next--Authorship, School, and Family--is a set of identities which were constructed by and for clients and tutors over the course of the study. Some identities were never ascribed to or taken up by tutors; some were never ascribed to or taken up by clients. Tutors never "became" unskilled readers or writers. Unskilled speller was an identity a tutor might ascribe to herself. The scribe identity was never ascribed to a client nor was it taken up by a client. Tutors were unlikely to be ascribed the identity of compliant student.

To characterize the identities in these categories, I will itemize behaviors and acts that occurred in ABE and Authors Workshop sessions through which each identity manifested itself at the research site.

b. The Authorship Category

The first category of such identities, Authorship, includes several identities which were in play largely during Authors Workshops: author, oral composer, scribe, and editor. Author, by my definition, means having something to say, composed orally or in writing, that is worth hearing or reading by someone else even if the piece is not published. Because of this definition, the characteristic of being knowledgeable about something--possessing valuable knowledge about an issue or a procedure or having interesting things to say about life experiences--was automatically included in the identity of author at those moments where clients were invited and encouraged to share their pieces with others. This characteristic of author as I define it is related to the view of adult literacy clients as proficient, not deficient (Fingeret, 1983).

The author identity was invoked both when tutors invited clients to participate in Authors Workshops and when clients chose to participate in an Authors Workshop. Although the author identity was invoked both during ABE sessions and Authors Workshops, it was largely evident during sessions of the latter. The identity of oral composer came into play when a client or clients dictated what they wanted to say and a tutor wrote it down or typed it. Scribe and editor are identities that were evident when tutors were trying to facilitate client authorship.

i. Author. To characterize the identity of author as constructed at the research site, I itemize examples of practices through which the author identity manifested itself during Authors Workshops and ABE tutoring sessions. This list is not exhaustive; instead, it suggests of the variety of manifestations of the author identity that occurred over the course of the study. These behaviors and acts, while various, did have aspects in common. For one thing, I was the tutor who most frequently and consistently positioned clients as authors. More significantly, the intent of positioning clients as authors always involved a respect for the clients' knowledge and expertise and a wish to equalize the status between client and tutor. In actuality, author positioning involved two conflicting statuses: client as capable and knowledgeable and client as needing empowerment.

I should remind the reader that, in identifying and itemizing these behaviors and acts, I am working from my own definition of what counts as an author positioning move. The author identity was manifested at the research site in the following practices.

According to my definition, participants were ascribed the author identity when tutors:

*offered clients the opportunity to participate in Authors Workshops.

*convened meetings at which the publication of client work was discussed and invited clients to participate.

*asked the client's permission to read one of his or her works, thus showing respect for the author's ownership of his or her writing.

*invited clients to contribute to a group piece.

*asked for feedback about a group-composed piece.

*suggested that a good way to handle a complaint was to write a letter to the editor.

*suggested that clients might want to assemble a book of their compositions.

*offered to enter text into the computer that a client composed orally, thus demonstrating respect for what the client had to impart.

*discussed aspects of a client's writing, other than spelling, such as diction and organization with a client.

*offered to act as spell-checker for a client writing a piece in the Authors Workshop.

A client ascribed the author identity to himself or herself when s/he:

*chose to participate in an Authors Workshop when it was offered by the tutor in order to work on a piece which the client believed was worth writing.

*suggested that s/he had knowledge that needed to be conveyed to others or that would be of interest to others.

*took the initiative and suggested changes to a group-composed piece, thus valuing his or her own contribution.

*chose to read one of his or her works to others.
*said they had interesting stories to go into a book,

claiming that s/he wanted to write stories and poems.

*spoke about the intended audience for a piece s/he composed.

*was involved in handwriting his or her own pieces and not relying on the tutor to take down dictated pieces.

*referred to writing s/he was working on.

I have offered some evidence above that suggests that clients sometimes positioned themselves as authors in the way I defined that identity. Clients may not, however, have often thought of themselves as authors in this way. I did not expect participants to define author the way I did. The fact that clients, except for Charles, did not often see themselves this way is not a problem for the study; my interest is in other identities the participants were ascribed or took up at those moments when I positioned them as authors, defined in the way I define it. That is, this is not a study of what counted as authorship to participants.

The discourse most in evidence when the clients were positioned and positioned themselves as authors was the Liberal Empowerment discourse. Specifically, this discourse, as often manifested in the belief that clients have important knowledge and experiences to convey to others, is linked to the author identity.

ii. Oral composer. The identity of oral composer was also an identity in the Authorship category. There are fewer manifestations of this identity because it involved so specialized a practice. Clients were ascribed or took up the oral composer identity when tutors offered to handwrite, type, or write out on a blackboard, while a client or clients dictated a group poem, a story, or ideas about an issue. This identity was derived from an agency-wide practice of using the "language experience approach," popular in many adult literacy programs as a way to teach both reading and writing. Although this identity was derived from the language experience approach, it also arose at the research site because some clients were unable to write or were averse to composing by writing. The oral composer identity represented the Liberal Empowerment discourse both because it involved clients having something of value to convey to another reader and clients needing assistance in order to compose a piece. In oral composing, the emphasis was on what the client had to say, not on the mechanics of getting something written.

When I offered to be the scribe--typing client compositions into the computer or writing them on the blackboard and making copies of Authors Workshop-related materials--I saw myself as serving the clients. Clients may not have viewed oral composing as I did; my being able to serve as scribe may have reminded them that they could not serve as "scribe," i.e., writers of their own pieces, because of the level of their literacy capability.

iii. Scribe. This is an identity which Sam, Caroline, and I would take up when handwriting or typing a client's or clients' compositions into the computer while it was orally rendered, typing up a client's handwritten piece, writing out on the chalk board a group-composed piece, and making photo copies of reading used in Authors Workshops. Like the identity of oral composer, the identity of scribe is linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse because by assuming that identity, I simultaneously demonstrated that I believed clients had something valuable to say and needed help.

iv. Editor. Another identity in the Authorship category is that of editor. As editor, the person might suggest changes in syntax, discuss the sequence in which the author might present the ideas being explained or events being recounted, discuss a client's choice of words, provide the correct spelling of words a client had difficulty with or generally support the clients' taking up of the author identity.

The Authors workshop had several different formats. One format involved just one or two clients working on their writing with the tutor/facilitator "standing by," ready to answer questions about spelling and punctuation. As the facilitator of this kind of Authors Workshop, I followed the lead of the clients, offering, in effect, my services as a spellchecker.

An editor refrained from offering mini-lessons in phonics while the clients were composing. When tutors would ask clients to sound out a word the client couldn't spell, s/he was taking up the teacher identity. When clients had trouble with spelling, tutors also suggested to clients that they write just the first letter of the word. These practices belonged to the approach used to teach writing at the agency: the process approach. (Tutors were trained in the process writing methodology.) As editor, I did not use this practice because two participants in the study, Jolene and Charles, did not like the process writing approach to spelling while composing.

c. The School category

Identities in the School category included teacher; two kinds of student identities, compliant and resisting; and two kinds, unskilled and skilled, of each of the following: reader, writer, and speller. Some of these identities are dyadic identities. In the case of the former, I created these labels, compliant and resisting student to describe two identities that became salient at the site. In the case of the latter, skilled and unskilled reader, writer, and speller, clients and tutors constructed these identities. For example, clients defined a skilled reader as an individual who could read a text out loud, word-for-word, with no mistakes. Tutors went along with this definition, thus co-constructing this identity. An unskilled reader, however, made mistakes when engaged in this practice. Likewise, according to the clients, a skilled writer was someone who could write a piece with no misspellings; the writer and speller identities were closely bound up with each other. I tried to help clients develop a broader definition of writer, closer to that of author; when clients did not relinquish their definition, tutors went along with it.

Identities from the School category represented the Traditional Education discourse. Sometimes, however, they also represented the Liberal Empowerment discourse. For example, when a client positioned him or herself as a resisting student and the tutor accepted that positioning, they were referencing the Liberal Empowerment discourse. This discourse was also referenced when the tutor gave clients choices about reading materials, activities, and options for approaching a task. Nevertheless, the identity in these instances, teacher, still belonged to the School category because the tutor took upon herself the power to offer such choices.

i. Teacher. The teacher identity manifested itself when a tutor and/or a client chose materials for clients to read, planned activities for ABE and Authors Workshop sessions, initiated plans, or gave permission to a client or clients. Also, the teacher identity came into play when the tutor allocated turns during round robin reading and offered clients phonics lessons both when the focus of the basic tutoring session was on spelling or decoding words or when clients were engaged in composing during Authors Workshops. The teacher identity also manifested itself when clients were instructed by tutors or other clients, i.e., when imparting information about certain topics, such as poetry or the study of weather.

The teacher identity also came into play when a tutor or a client pressed a client to use a certain practice or strategy, such as when the tutor tried to persuade a client to compose orally. Other teacher moves involved the tutor offering clients a choice or assuming the right to approve of a client's choice. These instances of teacher positioning referenced the Liberal Empowerment and Traditional Education discourses respectively.

The teacher identity came into play more during ABE sessions and less during Authors Workshops. This identity, however, was involved when we convened a larger group for an Authors Workshop session. Examples of these larger group meetings and Workshops include the session where we discussed the client publication, the first whole group Authors Workshop, Authors Workshops where we discussed the publication of client work, and those where clients collaboratively composed a piece. The larger size of the group that met on these occasions led to the tutor being more directive and therefore taking up the teacher identity. When only a few clients chose to participate in an Authors Workshop, the tutor was less apt to become a teacher.

The teacher identity also came into play when clients called upon tutors to take control. Three examples are when clients declined the opportunity to choose activities, when clients refused an opportunity to read on their own for a short time, and when clients asked the tutors to correct their work rather than correcting it themselves.

The writing process approach signalled the presence of the teacher identity at the research site. This is because clients informed me early in the study that they did not want to use the method used when a client was unable to spell a word. To hold them to this practice involved taking up the position of teacher. More generally, a tutor took up the teacher identity when s/he refused to adjust his or her teaching approach in response to a client request.

Finally, clients, themselves, sometimes took up the teacher identity during ABE sessions and occasionally did so during Authors Workshops. Examples are when a client allocated a turn at reading to another client during an ABE session, when he or she told other clients where to sit, when a client proclaimed the "rules" for taking a coffee break, and when a client proposed reading materials or activities. Both the Traditional Education and Liberal Empowerment discourses were invoked at these times. That is, while the power shifted somewhat at these moments to the clients, they were also taking on an identity linked directly to the Traditional Education discourse.

Generally, then, the teacher identity involved taking control or being in control of classroom doings. The teacher identity usually involved positioning others as students and as having scant authority.

When the teacher identity was manifested in tutors' actions, the Traditional Education discourse was referenced. When the resisting student identity was taken up by clients and accepted by tutors, the Liberal Empowerment discourse was being invoked.

ii. Student. There were two kinds of student identities at the research site, the compliant student and the resisting student. The compliant student identity involved valuing school-based knowledge and procedures and "submitting" to teacher direction. That is, the compliant student identity occurred when clients preferred to work on tasks related to learning to decode words or to working on math and when they acquiesced when the tutor successfully took control of school-based classroom doings. Thus, the compliant student identity manifested itself when clients did not resist tutor assignment of turns during ABE tutoring sessions or generally did not mind tutors being "in charge." When clients expressed a commitment to attend class sessions, the compliant student identity was invoked. The compliant student identity also involved clients asking tutors to correct their writing and their math and expressing a desire to get a G.E.D.

As suggested above, the resisting student identity involved the refusal to take up the compliant student position vis a vis the tutor, when the tutor took up the teacher identity and exercised control over the ABE (Adult Basic Education) or Authors Workshop sessions. One example of clients taking up this identity are when two clients stated a preference to have words spelled for them rather than use the agency convention of sounding the word out and doing the best they could with it. When a tutor promoted school-based tasks and clients chose not to engage in such activities, the client was taking up the resisting student identity.

iii. Reader. There were two kinds of reader as defined by the clients: skilled and unskilled. According to clients, skilled reading involved reading connected text out loud and fluently with every word correct. Unskilled reading involved not being able to decode a word when reading a passage orally. These definitions of skilled reader and unskilled reader arose from the practice of reading out loud, round robin style, which was used by many tutors. It also arose from clients' beliefs about what constitutes reading. Both the clients and the tutors took up the identity of skilled reader; only clients took up the identity of unskilled reader as defined above. The emphasis on the importance of the word by word component of the definition is revealed in two interview excerpts. In both cases, the client and I, acting as researcher, are discussing client progress with reading.

> **Researcher:** So you like to know the exact word ....It doesn't help you to hear it that you, you've made, you've made a good guess.
>
> **Client:** Uh, huh. No....It helps to know the word ....so when you read the sentence you will know the word and that way you won't be, um, stuck on the word.

Another client talked in an interview about rehearsing before his turn to read out loud came around and revealed in the same interview this definition of skilled reading: "[I just want to] take up someone else's story and read it. It's [my] goal. Without backshuffle, how the people [who wrote the story would sound.]"

iv. Writers and spellers. The identity of writer manifested itself when clients and/or tutors expressed concern primarily about the spelling, grammar, and penmanship, not about the substance about which clients were writing. The emphasis was on learning to write not on authoring a piece. This identity was also in play when the goal was to answer comprehension questions about a reading. Examples include writing out short answers to questions or filling in of blanks on worksheets related to nonfiction pre-GED readings or a story.

Not being able to write fluently--this included being uncomfortable about not knowing how to spell a word and/or with the physical act of writing--was linked to clients' views of themselves as readers. The same emphasis on "getting the word" connected to being a skilled reader was connected to being a skilled writer. Being a skilled speller was integral to the overall definition of skilled writer. One client expressed this opinion about spelling and writing in an interview:

> **Client:**...but I don't know much words and I can't really put down my thoughts like...I want to
>
> **Researcher:** So are you saying that you have to wait 'til you learn [to read them and know how to spell them] all those words [on the G.E.D. list]....before you can write poetry and stories.
>
> **Client:** You have to learn all them words.

The identity of unskilled speller also came into play when a client was given a short spelling or phonics lesson when composing.

d. The Family Category

The Family category contained the identities of friendly sibling and sibling rival. The friendly sibling identity involved participants being supportive of each other in the group. The sibling rival involved competition and/or contention largely between clients.

The largely supportive quality of the group led to clients and tutors alluding to it as a kind of family. In a flyer a client created to recruit new clients, it said "We, the teachers and students, we are one family....We are mother, father, sisters, and brothers to each other....So wake up and join this family!" Another client explained in an interview, "But you know....with the group we all, I don't know, we just be here like family anyways....I mean we all together, I feel like...this is my second house." Following the lead of clients, and that of staff and some tutors who characterized tutoring groups as family-like, I chose friendly sibling to cover identities that reflected this mutual supportiveness.

A second Family identity also manifested itself at the research site, sibling rival. At first, I was only aware of the mutually supportive and affirming practices constituting the interactions among members of the group. A closer look at the data alerted me to the fact that there were acts and behaviors that implied that competition and contention between clients was occurring. In recent literature relating to empowerment, an assumption about the value of group solidarity is countered with an awareness of potential or actual contentiousness within a group, so I wasn't surprised to encounter it at my research site (see Weiler, 1994 and Lensmire, 1994).

Lensmire writes this way about the students who constituted a "community" of students as writers in which rifts occurred: ""Peers were sources of support....They were also sources of conflict and risk" (p. 141). Lensmire, as Willinsky (1995) explains, "is [with his third grade students] unexpectedly faced with students who insist on naming and entrapping others in the class within twisted and sometimes perverse story lines" (p. 31). Thus, like Lensmire, I assumed early on that the communal, cooperative quality of the small group would prevail but had to revise my assumption once I looked closely at classroom conversations to discern the identities that became salient for participants.

Because I became aware, during the early data analysis, of episodes involving competition and/or contention among clients, it was necessary to add an identity to be able to characterize this conflict: the sibling rival identity.

Examples of instances involving the friendly sibling identity included expressing feelings and sharing information about a topic such as menopause or another health-related issue faced by members of the group, commiserating with a client whose welfare benefits were soon to be terminated, boosting morale as a client dealt with the consequences of a burglary in her apartment, and offering to get coffee for a tutor or a client.

Some clients could, at times, be very competitive, thus putting into play the sibling rival identity. Examples of practices that involved the sibling rival identity include not permitting another client a turn at talk and talk where one client was competing with another. Sometimes clients were rivals for the praise and attention of the tutors. Examples included moments when a client represented herself as a "good" welfare recipient, i.e., a belief in earning what one gets in life, in working hard at and being skilled at getting a job while suggesting another client was not a "good" welfare recipient. The sibling rival identity was also taken up when a client represented him or herself as more knowledgeable about a topic under discussion than other clients.

The friendly sibling and the sibling rival identities could signal a difference in status between two participants. Sometimes, when a participant took up the friendly sibling identity, it involved positioning the other person as needing support and help, thereby positioning him or her as having a lower status.

Interestingly, these two identities referenced four discourses: the Therapeutic, the Liberal Empowerment, the Welfare Reform, and the Traditional Education discourses. It referenced the Therapeutic discourse when tutors or a client positioned a client as needing help and when mutual supportiveness occurred, and referenced the Liberal Empowerment discourse when clients and tutors positioned themselves or were positioned as peers and when they were positioned as needing to be empowered. The sibling rival was linked to the Welfare Reform discourse in that it signified a kind of individualistic, competitive stance vis a vis peers, largely taken up by clients. The sibling rival identity is also linked to the Traditional Education discourse insofar as it involves a valorization of competition, individual effort, and rewards for merit.

e. Summary

Identities that became salient for study participants fall into three categories: Authorship, School, and Family. Identities include author, scribe, oral composer and editor; teacher, compliant and resisting student, skilled and unskilled reader, writer, and speller; and sibling rival and friendly sibling. The three categories and the identities which belong to these categories were produced by positioning moves on which several forces had an impact: discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts. I discuss this impact in detail in the next section of the chapter when I discuss the microanalyses of ABE and Authors Workshop session conversations. Five discourses represented the identities which became salient at the research site: the Traditional Education, Liberal Empowerment, Therapeutic, Welfare Reform, and Traditional Marriage and Family discourses.

Numerous different practices were linked to the Author identity, and the experience of authorship varied for client participants. Some practices regularly signalled author positioning: when a chance to participate in Authors Workshops was offered to clients; when clients chose to participate in the Workshops; when clients represented themselves as interested in and capable of writing life stories, stories, and poems; when tutors and clients expressed respect for client knowledge and expertise; and when participants expressed a belief that clients' compositions were worth being read by others. The inviting of clients to become authors referenced the Liberal Empowerment discourse.

Identities from the School category manifested themselves during oral round robin reading, during math instruction, and when clients were answering--in writing--questions based on readings. They also became manifest when tutors gave phonics lessons and worked with clients on decoding skills after the reading portion of the basic tutoring session was over. Whenever a client expressed a positive view of school-based skills and knowledge or a tutor was controlling what was happening, identities from this categories were also made manifest. The Traditional Education discourse was referenced when most of the identities from the School category were in play. When the resisting student identity was in play, the Liberal Empowerment discourse was referenced.

The friendly sibling identity from the Family category became manifest when participants were supportive of each other and when tutors offered clients help. The Therapeutic discourse was evinced at such times. They also became manifest when a tutor and a client, having the same degree of knowledge about a phenomenon, shared information with each other about a topic of mutual interest and when tutors and clients offered to get coffee for each other. The sibling rival identity came into play when clients acted like rivals. That is, it became manifest when there was contentiousness and competition between clients. Much of this contentiousness derived from the impact of the Welfare Reform and Traditional Marriage and Family discourses.

D. Moment by Moment Construction and the Interplay of Identities

1. Introduction

In this section, I discuss findings from the microanalyses of excerpts of talk from Authors Workshops and basic tutoring sessions. I focus on what happened when participants were positioned as authors; I will discuss other identities when they come into play at moments when participants are positioned or position themselves as authors. My purpose is to demonstrate how, on a moment-to-moment basis, the salient identities were constructed in talk by positioning moves linked to discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts, and how these salient identities interacted with and affected author positioning moves. Identities from outside the research site, on their own, lacked the power to definitively shape the salient identities but they did contribute to this shaping. As such, I discuss them in the context of discussing transcripts, when they were in play.

(This discussion of findings is based on the Microanalysis Figures and Tables in Appendix A.)

Overall, the study suggests that discourses had the effect of limiting the range of identities available to the clients (and the tutors) in the overall program and in the two specific contexts within that program which are the focus of my study. That is, these discourses, along with local ideologies and speech acts, made available certain identities that were taken up or ascribed to clients on a moment-by-moment basis as the result of positioning moves. These identities were fluid and malleable.

I look closely at these excerpts of talk because forces that affect the construction and interaction of identities become more visible under close scrutiny than if the researcher limited herself to the analysis of field notes and interviews. Thus, I discuss the microanalyses of excerpts of talk from Authors Workshops and basic tutoring sessions in order to demonstrate and discuss in detail how various identities were constructed and how they impacted on each other, and how the discourses and local ideologies referenced and how the speech acts employed impacted those identities and status relations among the participants. By discussing excerpts of transcript sections from the same ABE or Authors Workshop sessions under different headings, I am able to demonstrate the multiple, malleable quality of the identities constructed for and by study participants within one session.

I begin by discussing two transcript excerpts that represent talk occurring when the author identity is uninterrupted. That is, the instances of author positioning that I discuss in this first section involve positionings that are largely unaffected by other identities. Identities from the School category were often ascribed to and/or taken up by clients at moments when author positioning was taking place. After the section on author positioning, I discuss how identities from the School category interact with the author identity. Then, I discuss instances of identities from the Family category interacting with the author identity. Finally, to show how fragile the authorship category is within school settings, I discuss excerpts from an Authors Workshop when a particularly complex mix of identities from the three categories of identities, Authorship, School, and Family are ascribed to and taken up by clients.

2. Sustained Author Positioning

Clients positioned themselves as authors and were positioned by the researcher and by a member of the agency staff as authors. Sometimes those positionings were sustained and sometimes interrupted. I report below instances of sustained positionings, some of which represent trends in positioning and some of which occurred only once or twice but are nevertheless significant. In an exploratory and suggestive study such as mine, it is important not to overlook instances of the latter kind. This discussion and discussions to follow are based on microanalyses made using microanalysis charts. This first discussion is based on microanalyses in Figures 1 and 2 and in Table 1 in the Appendix A. In the following section, I show two examples of talk constituted of largely uninterrupted author positioning moves. I discuss excerpts from the transcripts of two Authors Workshops.

The discussion of the first example of sustained author positioning, which took place 1/9/97, focuses on an excerpt from an Authors Workshop transcript involving two clients. My intent, in Authors Workshop sessions, was always to support the author identity for a client by offering to act as editor or scribe, not as teacher. Both Jolene and Charles participated in this Authors Workshop and both were writing their pieces by hand rather than dictating them to me for entering into the computer. Both clients preferred handwriting or, in a few instances, word processing their own pieces as the mode of composing.

The Authors Workshop begins typically with an initial physical shift in clients' and tutors' locations. For this Authors Workshop, I leave the "basic tutoring" table and move to another table to set up the Authors Workshop. Jolene and Charles join me there. The transcript excerpt shows an instance of the tutor trying to facilitate clients' taking up of the author identity. The transcript also shows an instance of the tutor endeavoring to give clients a more equitable status. The Liberal Empowerment discourse was invoked continuously, for the most part.

The independence which Jolene demonstrates below suggests a certain degree of confidence. One reason is that she was a skilled writer, i.e. one who could handwrite a piece relatively easily and fluently. Because of this facility, she felt more comfortable in taking up the author identity. Another reason is that she tended to be more confident in Authors Workshops with only one or two clients participating and me facilitating.

In this excerpt, I position myself as editor by offering to write words she doesn't know on the board, a method for getting the right spelling that Jolene preferred. I don't try to make a lesson out of her spelling questions.

> 005 **Jolene:**...how do you spell "was"? Is it "W" "A" "S"? "was" ?
>
> 006 **SWS:** Yup. // [Jolene reads the piece she is composing, to herself, out loud but quietly.] And I'll put a word up here if you come to it and you don't know it, okay, Jolene?

When Jolene asks me for the spelling of a word during this section of the workshop at line 5, she is positioning me less as a teacher and more as an editor; neither of us wants to embark on a phonics lesson here. Jolene is "getting the word" by simply asking if she spelled it correctly. At line 6, I position her as author but also as skilled speller when I confirm that she has spelled "was" correctly. My goal is to facilitate the flow of the composing, not interrupt it. At line 6, my intent is to support the author identity for Jolene by offering to act as an editor, not a teacher. Jolene is voicing the ideology, "authors use standard English," here which suggests a slight departure from the author identity which values the content of a piece over mechanics like spelling.

In the next excerpt, I am trying to help Charles get started on his project for this Workshop; once again the goal is to facilitate composing.

007 **SWS**: [To Charles] Did you bring, did you bring any of your many volumes of work with you today? You maybe didn't know you were going to do this writing today? What do you want to work on?

008 **Charles**: I definitely want to get my, going on my...book.

009 **SWS**: ....OK, now, had you started the chapter, you had said the last time, a long time ago before vacation that you wanted to do the chapter about being on the board [of directors of the agency]--or are you beyond that or (in) another place now?

010 **Charles**: No, I, / Let me get my book.//

[SCENE: Jolene reads out loud to herself again. Talk between Charles and me here also but I can't make any of it out from the tape.] //

011 **SWS**: [To Charles] Here's a pencil if you want to be able to erase.

012 **Charles**: OK. Uhm./

013 **SWS**: Jolene is reading hers over to do as much correcting as she can, herself. (The good thing about the) correcting is that you can do a lot of it yourself.

014 **Charles**: Mmm, hmmm.

015 **SWS**: I think it's [the work he is looking for] in the front (of your notebook.)

Right away, in line 7, I position Charles as author by referring to his "many volumes" and Charles takes up that identity in line 8 when he says he wants to work on his book. At line 11, I offer him a pencil so he can write, correct, and rewrite his own work. The Liberal Empowerment discourse is referenced here and at line 13 because I attempt to produce greater equity between tutor and client by resisting the teacher identity. A teacher identity would involve the tutor correcting the piece. In both excerpts above, I try to support Jolene's and Charles's composing any way I can. Over the course of the next several moments in the workshop, Jolene reads what she has written out loud to herself to find the corrections she needs to make. At line 13, I explain to Charles what Jolene is doing, hoping he too will feel comfortable working more independently. The ideology being voiced here is that "clients own and control their work." At the line 14, above, Charles does not appear to take up my suggestion. Part of my work as facilitator, here, is involved with a desire to free clients from being overly dependent on tutors for things like correcting their work. Some clients, however, avoid correcting their own work--perhaps because it violates their sense of what school should be like, including notions of the proper job of the teacher. Charles is a good example of a client who liked the tutor to take up the identity of teacher. He usually wanted the tutor to go over his mistakes, noting them with a red pen that he usually carried with him. At line 15, I return to the search for Charles's work, not holding him to correcting his own work. The ideology expressed here is that "clients can choose;" the discourse referenced is the Liberal Empowerment discourse.

In the transcript excerpt below, I am doing what I can to facilitate Charles's beginning to work on his writing. I do not interfere with his choice of project to work on, thus referencing the Liberal Empowerment discourse. I do take up the teacher identity briefly but what prevails are the editor and author identities.

BREAK IN THE TRANSCRIPT

[SCENE: Charles and SWS start looking for Charles's latest chapter of his life story.]

018 **SWS:** I don't think any of it, um...that I have any of it here, I have some of your other writing, [not] the life story, though. Uhm, let's see. [Charles and SWS are looking at the computer screen together here while they look for Charles's chapter.] This is about the fashion show and the first day at Park Street [School]. Now that might have been, um, part of the life story. /

019 **Charles:** No, that, that's a part of my ah/ you know that little book ( ) because I want to finish this one.

020 **SWS:** Take your time and we have until noon.

021 **Charles:** Yeah //

Charles decides for himself what he will work on at line 19, above. At line 20, I convey that there is maneuvering "room" for Charles as author because I am staying until noon. Although at line 20, I position myself as having the prerogative to set the schedule, a teacher's prerogative, Charles's author identity is not interrupted by this positioning move. The conversation is still one between author and editor, not teacher and student. When Charles and I search for his manuscript, we are collaborating. This is another instance of sustaining the original author positioning and trying to maintain the greater equity of status.

A second Authors Workshop where the author identity is sustained occurred on January 30, 1997 and involved only one client. Here, I again discuss excerpts of talk between a client and a tutor that sustained the author positioning. The microanalyses on which I base this discussion can be found in Figure 3 and Table 2 in Appendix A. This analysis differs from the discussion of the excerpts of the first transcript because the author positioning is sustained, for the most part, throughout the Workshop session. The excerpts below also demonstrate the client's well-developed sense of the author identity, more developed than that of other clients.

> 177 **Charles:** What I want to do as soon as I draw/ as soon as I make a book, I want to send one to my mom.
>
> 178 **SWS:** Oh, yeah! Yeah!
>
> 179 **Charles:** [Laugh] It really a surprise. I know some of the things, like the first part here
>
> 180 **SWS:** Hmm,mmh.
>
> 181 **Charles:** I just had that in, you know, out of my head and then, you know, because I didn't know how they meet.
>
> 182 **SWS:** So that, you made that up.
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT
>
> 194 **SWS:** Also when you write about real people and they're still alive, it's good to show them what you've written too.

In lines 177-182 and line 194, above, Charles and I talk about his book the way a published author and his or her editor might talk. We are talking collegially here, more as equals than we would if I had taken up the teacher identity and thus positioned him as a student. The Liberal Empowerment discourse is invoked here because of the greater equality in status. While the Traditional Education discourse is fleetingly evident when I use the speech act "instruct." I explain to Charles that "It's good to show [the people you write about] what you've written," the predominant positioning of Charles is as author and the predominant discourse is the Liberal Empowerment discourse. Local ideologies such as "clients can make plans" and "clients can choose" also support the interpretation of this excerpt.

In the excerpt below, the Liberal Empowerment discourse is also invoked when I demonstrate that I value client knowledge; in this case, I show appreciation of client knowledge about how to proceed, again sustaining the author identity. When I say "OK" and "All Right," I use the speech act "affirm" to support Charles's plans each step of the way.

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

232 **Charles:** OK. What I'm going to do

233 **SWS:** OK.

234 **Charles:** I'm gonna continue from where I started there the last (time) I'm going to continue writing it. I'm going to take all this and put it in that [note]book.

235 **SWS:** OK. All right.

The transcript excerpt above is about Charles's piece, generally, and not about how to spell a word or punctuate a sentence. Had the tutor followed the agency practice of embedding lessons about spelling and punctuation in this episode of talk about writing, the author identity would have been interrupted by the teacher and student identities. Furthermore, the ideologies expressed at lines 232, 234, and

235, "clients can make plans" and "clients know best" suggest that the client is positioned more equitably than he might have been if I had taken up the teacher identity. The ideology, "tutors can OK plans," expressed at line 235 along with "clients can make plans" does suggest that there may be a hierarchy, but it is not the prevailing ideology in this excerpt. While it will become apparent in the sections to follow that I took up the teacher identity during Authors Workshops, my intention, in Authors Workshops, as well as in much of the ABE tutoring, was to follow the lead of the clients.

In the excerpts I discuss above, we have seen two instances of sustained author identity where I play a part in that sustaining. The two transcripts I discussed demonstrate that Jolene and Charles are more in a peer relationship with me in this Authors Workshop than when I repeatedly take up the teacher identity during some of the other Authors Workshops.

3. Identities from the School Category Interact with the Author Identity

a. Overview

Identities frequently in play when the author identity was ascribed to and/or taken up by clients were those from the School category. In this section, I address the way that identities from this category interacted with the author identity. First I discuss four instances of the student identity interrupting the author identity, two in which the tutor positioned clients as students and two in which the clients positioned themselves as students. In the latter, clients seemed to choose the student identity over the author identity.

The student or teacher identity did not always interrupt the author identity. So, I discuss three instances where the student identity might have interrupted the author identity but didn't. First, I discuss an instance of a client using the student identity to help him retain the author identity. Then, I discuss two instances where clients successfully resist the student identity to maintain the author identity.

b. Teacher Identity Interrupts Author Positioning

In this section I discuss two instances of the teacher identity interrupting the Author positioning. In the first transcript excerpt from an Authors Workshop held on 4/10/97, a tutor and a client have several exchanges about the spelling of words in the autobiographical piece being composed by the client. The microanalysis on which this discussion is based, Figures 4 and 5 and Table 3, can be found in Appendix A.

In these conversations, Jolene is positioned as unskilled speller and student when the tutor, Jackie, takes up the teacher identity, this in spite of Jolene's self-positioning as knowledgeable about her own learning. Jackie, a former tutor, who has agreed to help out at an Authors Workshop, works with two of the clients, Charles and Jolene and positions each quite differently over the course of the

Workshop, Jolene as a student and unskilled speller and Charles as an author, a peer, and a friend. The excerpt that follows shows extended moments when identities from the School category interrupted the author identity for Jolene and moments when the Traditional Education discourse was invoked.

Before the excerpt of talk below begins, the tutor, Jackie, is reading over Charles's piece. Jolene is sitting on the other side of Jackie, working on her piece. Jolene asks Jackie to spell a word for her; Jackie turns the request into a spelling lesson.

> [SCENE: Jolene can be heard in the background very quietly reading over her piece as she composes.]
>
> 012 **Jolene:** (Can you spell) wrestling? Wrestling? [She repeats the request a little bit louder each time but her voice is still very soft.]
>
> 013 **Jackie:** "Wrestling"? like //
> [Jackie is writing the word out for Jolene.]
> That's a hard one because it starts with a silent letter.//It starts with a "w". All right and what's the second letter? /You can hear it.
>
> 014 **Jolene:** (R). Wres, Wrestling.
>
> 015 **Jackie:** R.
>
> 016 **Jolene:** R?
>
> 017 **Jackie:** W R . Now we have a vowel. You know the vowels are A, E, I, O, or U.
>
> 018 **Jolene:** A.(?)
>
> 019 **Jackie:** No, "wreh," "eh" E.
>
> 020 **Jolene:** E?
>
> 021 **Jackie:** Now we have a letter "wrest"[emphasis on the "t."] "wrestling,"[emphasis on the t.]

022 **Jolene:** T.

023 **Jackie:** "wresling." S. S.

024 **Jolene:** S. (OK.)

025 **Jackie:** I think there is a "t" now.

026 **Jolene:** "Wrest"

027 **Jackie:** "Wres."I don't hear the "t" but I'm sure there is a "t." "Wrestling." Yes, there's a "t." "T." And, then, "l i n g."//

In reply to Jolene's request for the spelling of a word at line 12, in the transcript above, the tutor uses the speech act, "instruct," at line 13, which is linked to the teacher and student identities and the Traditional Education Discourse. Jolene is positioned as a student by Jackie's self-positioning as teacher. Although Jackie writes the word out for Jolene--the way Jolene likes to be helped with spelling--Jackie turns the act of simply providing the correctly spelled word into a spelling lesson. Local ideologies at work here include "tutor knows best" and "learning to spell is more important than content." By not resisting Jackie's positioning of her, Jolene takes up the compliant student identity.

Jolene also voices the local ideology that "writers use correct spellings" in asking for help from Jackie. She's invoking the Traditional Education discourse, which she invokes several times. Presumably, in response to Jackie's positioning of her as unskilled speller in the excerpt below, Jolene takes up the position of authority on her own learning when she explains her problem with sounding words out, thus expressing the local ideology "client knows best."

030 **Jolene:** I think my trouble is when I [see] the letter, I don't get / all this down.

031 **Jackie:** >>That's why I'm working with you. That's all right. It's really hard, / particularly if it doesn't sound the way it's really spelled.

032 **Jolene:** And I be, I think that's why I be gettin mixed up a lot. Cause I don't, I say it but I, I don't get all the sounds."

033 **Jackie:**You'll get it in time.//

Jolene's taking up of the position of authority about her own learning is not heeded by Jackie. This taking up of authority on her own learning at line 32 can be viewed as an echo of Jolene's self-positioning at line 30. Jolene is taking up the resisting student identity when she speaks as an authority on her own learning. She knows she has trouble sounding out words which is just what Jackie is asking her to do. Jolene had, on a few other occasions, asked tutors to use a technique with her that was not the typical technique used by tutors across the agency. She asked them to simply spell the word for her orally or write it on the board.

The Liberal Empowerment discourse is referenced when Jolene positions herself as knowing best about her spelling problems at lines 30 and 32. Jackie, however, references the Traditional Education discourse when she responds to Jolene at lines 31 and 33 by assuring Jolene that she will learn in time. She also invokes the Therapeutic discourse when she implies Jolene needs reassurance; the referencing of the Therapeutic discourse in this way underscores the difference in status revealed in this exchange between "author" and "teacher."

That Jolene's self-positioning as authority was not taken up by the tutor, Jackie, is evident not only at lines 31 and 33, above, but also in lines 46-48, below.

043 **Jolene:** [To Jackie] It's hard for me to get this word, "cartoon." [Jolene pronounces it "cahtoon."]

044 **Jackie:** What word?

045 **Jolene:** "Cahtoon." "Cahtoons" like

046 **Jackie** >>All right now there's this "cuh" sound. It can either begin with a "c" or with a "k". And in this case, it begins, it begins with a "c." Now, listen to it. It has the little word "car" in it.

047 [Jolene spells the word correctly.]

048 **Jackie:** Way to go...Don't ask me why there are 2 "o's." That's just the way it is.

At line 43, Jolene again asks for the spelling of a word which she does not know; she may be positioning Jackie as editor here, once again expecting that Jackie will just spell the word and let Jolene get on with the piece she was writing. As with other times, however, when Jackie responds to Jolene's request for the spelling of a word, Jackie does not simply write the word down so Jolene can copy it, a method Jolene has asked Jackie to use. When Jolene asks Jackie, earlier in the session, to simply spell the words, she is referencing the local ideology, "client can choose." Line 43 carries an echo of that ideology, therefore referencing the Liberal Empowerment discourse.

At lines 46-48 Jackie explains how to sound the word out, referencing the local ideology, "tutor knows best." Jackie insists on providing a spelling lesson, thus positioning Jolene as a student and an unskilled speller. Jackie has not sustained Jolene's self-positioning as an authority on her own learning which occurred a little earlier in the transcript, at lines 30, 32, and 43. There is an echo at line 43 of Jolene's earlier explanation of her need to be simply given the spelling of the word, but Jackie does not understand that Jolene is positioning herself as knowledgeable about her own problems with sounding words out. Jolene takes up the identity of compliant student when she acquiesces to Jackie's giving her a spelling lesson. After Jolene gets the right spelling, Jackie says to her "Way to go." She sounds like a coach and, while this is meant to be encouraging, a move supportive of Jolene as author would have been to just give her the word she wanted. Jolene's explanation of her problems with sounding out words at line 30 seems to have been unheeded because Jackie is giving her another phonics lesson here. It is clear from the way Jolene pronounces "cartoon" that sounding out words may not, in fact, be the best way to help her with spelling. Jackie, thereby, does not sustain Jolene's self-positioning, at line 30, as an authority on her own learning but has positioned her as student again.

Jackie next helps Jolene with another word, this time a name, "Daniel." Jolene, perhaps to avoid again positioning herself and being positioned as an unskilled speller, explains to Jackie that she used to know how to spell it but has forgotten how. After a brief silence, Jolene and Jackie talk about a sentence she has written about her nieces and nephews watching TV on a Saturday morning at her house.

Jackie corrects the sentence. There is another brief silence and then Jackie asks Jolene to read the sentence to her. This is an instance of talking about something other than spelling; however, Jackie clearly maintains her position as teacher and Jolene as student.

In these transcript excerpts, the tutor uses several speech acts where she is eliciting responses from the client about the spelling of a word. At line 22, when Jolene gives the appropriate answer, "T," based on what the tutor says, the tutor does not use the speech act "affirm" in response. When Jolene uses the speech act, "claim," once again, Jackie answers it in an inappropriate way, this time using the speech act, "reassure" which is associated with the Therapeutic discourse. Jolene is making a claim; she is not asking for sympathy. These speech acts suggest an inequity of status between Jolene and Jackie. Jackie takes the position of teacher with Jolene once again at line 46 when she says, "All right now there's this "cuh" sound. [It] can either begin with a "c" or with a "k". And in this case, it begins, it begins with a "c." Now, listen to it. It has the little word "car" in it." This time the episode of talk starts with Jolene's speech act, "acknowledge error," at 45 which is followed by Jackie at line 46 with the speech act, "instruct." Jolene, in the next line, gives the right answer, followed by praise from the tutor. The words of praise carry with them a tone that suggests a difference in status between Jolene and Jackie; Jackie appears to respond to Jolene the way a coach might respond to an athlete.

For the most part, in the transcript excerpts above, the Traditional Education discourse is referenced. There are moments when the Liberal Empowerment discourse is referenced but the transcript excerpts above end in a reference to the Traditional Education discourse.

A local ideology invoked by Jolene that is linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse is "clients can ask for a spelling word." An agency-wide ideology invoked during much of Jackie's instruction of Jolene is "tutor can give phonics lessons." While a local ideology that I invoked a number of times during ABE tutoring sessions, "tutor can acknowledge uncertainty," is invoked by Jackie during the instructional episode, it does not mitigate her taking up of the teacher identity. In response to the local ideology, "client knows best," Jackie answered with the local ideology, "tutor knows best."

The overall effect on Jolene of the exchanges discussed above--of being positioned as a student and a unskilled speller--was such that the pride she might feel at working on her life story during this Authors Workshop seems to have been undermined. Instead, she has been reminded that she is a student and a unskilled speller. By asking for the spellings of words, Jolene may have thought she was positioning Jackie as an editor, i.e., as she had positioned me when she asked for the spelling of a word. When Jackie answered Jolene's requests with mini-lessons, however, Jackie took up the teacher identity, thereby positioning Jolene as student. Jolene's view of herself as knowledgeable was revealed when she explains to Jackie why sounding out words is hard for her. She is claiming that she knows about her own learning habits and needs when it comes to spelling words. Jackie does not appear to take up this self-positioning of Jolene's.

Jolene's attempts to make it clear to Jackie that her method of helping Jolene was not working were unsuccessful. After the conclusion of the Workshop session, Jolene began to cry; this may have been linked to the loss of status that she experienced about being positioned as an unskilled speller and a student.

It's too simple, however, to place all the responsibility with Jackie. Jackie responded to Jolene as a student, the way she was trained to respond to clients. Perhaps this is another moment where the Traditional Education discourse, linked as it was to a number of agency practices and research site-specific tutoring group practices, was expressing itself locally through the actions of both client and tutor.

Like the discussion above of Jolene's experience during an Authors Workshop, the following discussion also involves an Authors Workshop where the teacher identity interrupts the author positioning. The Workshop took place on 11/26/96. This discussion is based on analyses in Figure 6 and Table 4 in Appendix A.

Unlike the session involving Jolene and Jackie, this one involved a large group. When I facilitated a session that involved a group, I often found I had to take up the identity of teacher in order to move things along. When Jackie took up the teacher identity, the teacher identity was due more to its being linked to agency-wide practices of addressing spelling problems during a writing session and the Traditional Education discourse. Another difference between this session and the one Jackie facilitated was that my goal was to engage the assembled group in a collaborative composing project. Jackie, however, worked virtually one-on-one with a client on a piece authored by that client.

November 26, 1996 was the first Authors Workshop that included clients from tutoring groups other than the one I co-tutored with Caroline. Members of these other groups, also based at the research site, were often invited to participate in the Authors Workshop. To model the collaborative authorship project, I had planned that we would read together two poems from an anthology of client writings, *Believe in Yourself*, from another literacy program. The poems were composed of a repeating phrase that could be completed by each client in turn. By completing the phrase, the client would add his or her own words to the poem. This would produce a group poem that I would take down and then type up for participants in the workshop.

At line 21 below, I use the speech act, "instruct," to inform participants about a feature of poetry, a school-based kind of knowledge. In doing so, I position myself as teacher and clients as compliant students.

> 021 **SWS**: So, the idea is that when we were doing that, there was a rhythm that got going and you rather liked doing it because of that and that's one of the pleasures of poetry (   ) the repeating idea of poetry, uhm

By inviting the clients to participate in the Authors Workshop, however, I position them as authors. Another instance of positioning the clients as authors by inviting them to publish their work occurs soon after. The excerpt below, in which I invite them to publish their work, however, also contains another instance of my positioning myself as teacher.

> 026 **SWS:** Uhm, but...this Authors Workshop might decide to put out a book also of writings, (you know)...that's, that's what this is. [I refer to a copy of one of the poems from the anthology, here.] So this is the same
>
> idea in that there is a repeat here, uh. [Reading from the anthology] I remember my sister had a little dog. [I read several more lines.]...So you can pick a pattern...like Avianca's pattern [I refer, here, to the "I remember" pattern]...This is a pattern (because of) the repeat. This is a way of writing your life story, too, in a very brief...concise way, too....

In the same utterance, line 26 above, where I position clients as authors, I also position myself as the teacher, someone who can instruct the clients about poetry. I say, "This is a pattern because of the repeat." I also explain how a person could write an autobiography using the format I'm describing here. At line 26, I reference the Liberal Empowerment and Traditional Education discourses, while at line 21, I reference only the latter. Before lines 21 and 26 occur, I have convened the Authors Workshop, thereby positioning clients as authors, a positioning move that references the Liberal Empowerment discourse. But, by the time we get to line 21, I am referencing only the Traditional Education discourse.

Near the end of the utterance in line 26, I position Avianca as an author when I allude to her poem. To summarize, in the excerpts above, the moments where I position myself as teacher and the clients as students are interlaced with moments of author positioning.

While the excerpt above demonstrates a moment of positioning myself as a teacher and clients as students, clients also position themselves as students. An instance of a client positioning himself as student occurred close to the beginning of this workshop session.

037 **SWS:** OK, Charles?

038 **Charles:** [Reading] I am the one who loves to help /

039 **Avianca:** >> [Reading] everybody.

040 **Charles:** who loves to help everybody./ Continue?

041 **SWS:** Yah.

042 **Avianca:** You gotta do ( ).

043 **Charles:** Oh, oh, sorry. [Reading] I am the one who loves to help everybody. I am the one who / think about my, my, / so

044 **SWS:** [Reading] son's

045 **Charles:** son's

046 **SWS:** [Reading] future.

047 **Charles:** future.

048 **SWS:** >> OK? Eleanor, the next one. [I cut Charles off as he begins to read the next one.]

At line 37, I position myself as teacher by allocating a turn to Charles. Directly after this positioning of Charles as student, he positions himself as student. After responding to help from Avianca with the reading, Charles asks me if he should continue reading, positioning me as teacher and himself as student; this move references the Traditional Education discourse. When I answer "Yah" I sustain the two identities. In line 48, I cut Charles off in order to give another client an opportunity to read; I take up the position of teacher rather than having it ascribed to me.

Over the course of the study clients often proved reluctant to give up their turn and let someone else compose or read; to create opportunities for everyone to compose and to read, therefore, I felt I had to take up the teacher identity. Here, Charles takes up the compliant student identity by not resisting my allocating a turn to another client. Because my goal is for everyone to have a chance to read, this is not an uncalled for move for me to make. All of these are identities from the School category.

Two other identities from the School category are skilled and unskilled reader. When I say "Yah" at line 41 in answer to his question at line 40, I position Charles as skilled reader. At line 43, he is having trouble with the reading; I position him as unskilled reader when I help him decode the words. In line 42, Avianca tells Charles what to do, thus taking up the teacher identity. In line 43, Charles takes up the compliant student identity when he apologizes for the error Avianca points out.

A look at the pattern of speech acts in this Authors Workshop session confirms that the teacher identity was in play quite often. At the beginning of the Authors Workshop, I use the speech act, "direct," several times; this is a speech act used when the teacher identity is in play. In a longer, later section not represented here, I use this speech act 11 times. I use the speech act "permit" twice in this later section; this is a speech act that is also often used in a classroom by a teacher.

In this Authors Workshop, the tutor is the one who gets to share the school-based knowledge she has. There are several instances of the tutor instructing early in the session and no instances of clients instructing. Such a monopoly of this speech act suggests that even as the tutor's intention was to equalize status by ascribing the author identity to the clients, other aspects of the conversational positioning moves may have worked to dilute such an effort.

An overall interpretation of this Workshop session is to see a tutor trying to exert her power over the clients. Once again, there is another way to look at what's happening: one can view the tutor's and the clients' identities, of teacher and student respectively, as made available by the Traditional Education discourse. While my intention here, as well as elsewhere, is to empower clients, this discourse and local ideologies and speech acts related to it often intrude to weaken these attempts to empower. There is, however, a definite possibility that the clients may not have experienced tutor and client identities and speech acts that are linked to the Traditional Education discourse as intrusive. After all, they are in a school setting where they are working voluntarily to improve their reading and writing. As a facilitator of the Author's Workshop, I was consciously trying to disrupt the disparity in status between tutor and client usually brought on by the Traditional Education discourse. At another level, however, both clients and tutor were positioned by that discourse and speech acts associated with it. An overall count of instances of when the local ideology, "clients can choose," was referenced during this Authors Workshop reveals that early in the Workshop and in the longer, later section, I gave the client a choice seven times. "Clients can choose" is an ideology linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse. Invoking the Liberal Empowerment discourse via this ideology several times has the potential to position clients as having a higher status than student; in the case of this session, however, it's hard to say definitively if referencing this discourse significantly undermined my self-positioning and positioning by a client as teacher and the consequent positioning of clients as students rather than as authors.

In the discussion of the first transcript excerpt from an Authors Workshop held on 4/10/97, I claim that a tutor and a client have several exchanges about the spelling of words in the autobiographical piece being composed by the client. The tutor, Jackie, persists in using a method of helping Jolene with the spelling of words that is different from the one Jolene has asked Jackie to use. The client also tries to explain why the tutor's method doesn't work for her, positioning herself as knowledgeable about her own learning, but the tutor does not acknowledge the explanation thus sustaining the student and teacher identities. Both of these responses to the client by the tutor constitute the positioning of the client as student and unskilled speller and the positioning of the tutor as teacher.

Like the discussion above of Jolene's experience during an Authors Workshop, the second discussion above of the 11/26/96 Workshop also involves an Authors Workshop where the teacher identity interrupts the author positioning. My intent in this Workshop was to position clients as authors, but the exigencies of the specific format of the session interrupted that intent by invoking in me the identity of teacher and referencing the Traditional Education discourse. Unlike the session involving Jolene and Jackie, this one involved a large group. When I facilitated a session that involved a group, I often found I had to take up the identity of teacher in order to move things along. When Jackie took up the teacher identity, the teacher identity was due more to its being linked to agency-wide practices of addressing spelling problems during a writing session and the Traditional Education discourse.

c. Client Prefers Student Identity to Author Identity

Sometimes clients chose the student identity over the author identity. In the first set of excerpts below, clients are deliberating over what they will do for the next activity and end up opting for working on school-based activities, thus positioning themselves as compliant students. In the second excerpt a client again chooses the student identity.

The transcript excerpts I discuss next are from an ABE (Adult Basic Education) tutoring session, not an Authors

012 **Jolene:** (We could go over) some of these words
(   ). [From the G.E.D. list]

013 **SWS:** You'd like to work on some of the words
[confirming Jolene's choice].

At line 9, by offering Jolene a choice of what she will do next, I invoke the local ideology related to the Liberal Empowerment discourse, "Clients can choose." At line 12, Jolene suggests work on the G.E.D. words, thus positioning herself as a student and referencing the Traditional Education discourse. Jolene positions herself also as knowing what will work best for her, a positioning that the tutors take up when they don't object to her choice. Jolene had, during an earlier basic tutoring session, asked me to photocopy and tape record the list so she could learn them by listening to the tape and repeating each of the words. She hoped to improve both her reading and her spelling this way. Jolene's attachment to the G.E.D. list and especially having it on tape is interesting in light of the fact that she found it humiliating to be taught a phonics lesson during an Authors Workshop I discussed earlier in this chapter (See pp. 189 ff.). Perhaps the fact that she initiated the idea and that she was going to work on the list using the tape on her own at home rather than at the research site made a difference to her.

In the next excerpt from the transcript, Avianca is offered a choice as to what she would like to work on; she declines to choose, at first, but ends up choosing to work on decoding words and math.

014 **SWS:** [To Avianca] Reading, do you want to do some more reading, or some writing?

015 **Avianca:** Whatever you all decide.

016 **SWS:** Well, it's (   ) really where, what you want to do

017 **Avianca:** (I'm not) choosy.

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

020 **SWS:** Well, I think some people are going to do one thing and some people are going to do something else.

021 **Caroline:** You can do math.
022 **Avianca:** (   ) want to do math.\

023 **SWS:** Math.

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

At line 14, I again invoke the local ideology, "clients can choose." While at line 15, Avianca declines to choose--saying it's up to the rest of the group--she does eventually make a choice at line 22. When she declines to choose, thereby giving the tutors the power to choose for her, she references the Traditional Education discourse. However, paradoxically, in choosing not to choose, she expresses the local ideology, "clients can choose," and thereby references the Liberal Empowerment discourse. At line 22, Avianca chooses to do "school work" but is simultaneously referencing the Liberal Empowerment discourse when she makes the choice. Also at line 16, when I permit Avianca to make a choice, I take up the teacher identity. The fact of this move helps to make the Traditional Education discourse, in these excerpts, the predominant one.

So Avianca and Jolene have decided to forego the Authors Workshop in favor of working on reading and math, invoking the Education discourse and positioning themselves as students. They also, by their decision, have chosen to forego the chance of taking up the author identity. They may believe that proficiency in school-based tasks will empower them in the larger culture. In the excerpt below, I sustain Jolene and Avianca's self positioning of themselves as compliant students.

063 **SWS:** words or math?[To Avianca. Several people talking at once here. Hard to make it out.] Cause that's a way of continuing what you were

064 **Jolene:** OK.

065 **SWS:** working on....

066 **Jolene:** (Because) some of these words you don't find in, uh

067 **SWS:** You bet! (   ) That's right. That's right.

At Line 63 and 65 I, in effect, support Avianca's positioning herself as a student by choosing to work on math and the G.E.D. words when I justify the choices offered by saying "Cause that's a way of continuing what you were doing." I use the speech act "affirm" when I respond at lines 66 and 67, to Jolene's choice, thus sustaining the student positioning she has taken up earlier in the conversation and at lines 64 and 66. It also affirms, some time after the fact, the status she ascribed to herself when she suggested working on the G.E.D. list at lines 12, and by referencing the ideology, "clients can initiate plans." (At line 12

Jolene suggests, "We could go over some of these words [from the G.E.D. list].") The clients are opting to work on the G.E.D. words and math that represent school-based knowledge and thus preferring the student identity to the author identity, thereby referencing the Traditional Education discourse. The acts of giving them a choice and their making a choice reference the Liberal Empowerment discourse.

One local ideology being invoked by Jolene when she chooses to work on her decoding skills, using the G.E.D. word list, is "school-based knowledge is valuable," which is linked to the Traditional Education discourse. Jolene and Avianca had first hand experience of this ideology during their respective searches for a job. Both clients had been told by potential employers and, surprisingly, by a welfare worker that they would need a high school diploma to get a job. Specifically, Avianca had already trained to work in a daycare center but was then told she could not get the job without the high school diploma. The local ideology, "school-based knowledge is valuable" is contradicted by a tenet from the Welfare Reform discourse, "Jobs first, and then education." Jolene and Avianca were caught between these two discourses as they searched for jobs.

Jolene's belief in the value of school-based knowledge is also linked to her belief that getting her G.E.D. would earn her the respect of others and boost her status. By positioning herself as a student, i.e., as needing and wanting to go further with her education, Jolene hoped to gain the respect ordinarily bestowed on a school-educated person. (The Authors Workshop I discuss next involves an instance of Jolene bidding for this kind of respect.)

Over the course of the study, Avianca was far less concerned with getting respect from people than was Jolene. She exuded, most of the time, an unflagging confidence. Thus, her interest in getting her G.E.D. was motivated less by the anticipation of the respect others would accord her and more by her desire to get a job. The only area where Avianca showed a real fear of failure was with writing. This, in part, explains her opting for the student identity over the author identity during the ABE session under discussion. Another factor that may explain her choosing the student identity is that Avianca was skilled at math. Thus, she may have chosen to work on it as a way to gain some of the self-esteem she rarely seemed to derive from writing a piece in the Authors Workshop.

Both Avianca and Jolene chose the student identity over the chance to take up the author identity when they chose to forego the Authors Workshop on this day. It is important to remember, however, that in making a choice they were not exercising total agency. Even though the Liberal Empowerment discourse was in play in the transcript excerpts discussed above, Jolene and Avianca's choices were circumscribed by the Traditional Education discourse.

In the transcript excerpts below, a client again chooses the student identity over the author identity. The microanalysis on which this discussion of these excerpts are based can be found in Figures 9-11 and Tables 6 and 7 in Appendix A. In the transcript excerpt below, taken from an

Authors Workshop, Jolene positions me as teacher and herself as compliant student when she expressed a desire for me to correct her writing. I sustain this identity when I support her as she requests my help. Interestingly, this conversation follows on a relatively unbroken episode of Jolene positioning herself as author and being sustained by me in that positioning.

667 **SWS:** OK, then I'll go over it [her piece]

668 **Jolene:** (   ) my mistakes.

669 **SWS:** >> And uhm, I'll do it before I leave
670 **Jolene:** (   ).

671 **SWS:** I'm going to type it in the correct way because that is what you wanted....

672 **Jolene:** (   ) other people (read it, make sure it's correct)

673 **SWS:** Correct, correct. [I'm echoing Jolene here.]

674 **Jolene:** (   )

675 **SWS** It sounds intelligent now when you read it but for them to read it themselves, you're right it has to be correct, right, it has to be correct because it's hard to know what's in your mind. Right, yeh.

676 **Jolene:** Because sometimes/ they might see a word/ like//they will call that (broken English)...

677 **SWS:** Yeah

678 **Jolene:** That's the way (I speak).

679 **SWS:** << Speak it, yah, uh huh.

680 **Jolene:** They wouldn't understand it and they would call you ignorant (   ). (So you have to know how to spell it)...

681 **SWS:** That's right, you're absolutely right....You aren't ignorant but people might think that, and they

often do, it may be wrong of them to think that but
they do, you're right.

682 **Jolene:** ( ) so that they will understand

When I acquiesce at lines 671, 675, and 681 above, and tell Jolene she is right, I express the local ideologies, "clients can choose," and "clients know best." Both reference the Liberal Empowerment discourse. The latter ideology in this case refers both to clients knowing best about how to proceed with their work and to the way a person's misspellings can cause people to think that he or she is ignorant. In Jolene's desire for me to correct her writing and my willingness to do so, however, the Traditional Education discourse is at work. Also, the teacher and student identities are in play because she is valorizing Standard Written English, a value linked to the Traditional Education discourse which places the emphasis on the school-based skills of proper spelling and punctuation and not on content. So, while in my acquiescence to Jolene's wishes, I invoke the Liberal Empowerment discourse, I also take up the teacher identity Jolene ascribes to me, here, while at the same time referencing the Traditional Education discourse. Furthermore, at lines 680 and 681, each of us expresses the local ideology, "bad spelling makes one look ignorant," again referencing the Traditional Education discourse. So the overall positioning in this excerpt is as teacher and student, with Jolene choosing this identity when she asks me to correct her work.

This excerpt from an Authors Workshop follows a long interval of Jolene positioning herself as author and being sustained in that position. I infer from what she says that Jolene prefers, for the moment, the respect she could gain from being viewed as a successful student--as not ignorant of school-based knowledge--to that she might gain as an author, someone who has valuable knowledge to share that is not necessarily school-based. In an interview with me and during some ABE or Workshop sessions, Jolene demonstrated her desire to learn to read and write well enough to get her G.E.D., which seemed to be for her the barrier she'd need to surmount to be treated like a well-educated person. It seems that Jolene's aspiration to being an educated person, an identity from the School category, was what interrupted the sustained taking up of the author identity. Jolene had revealed on several occasions that she very much resented people looking down on her: twice she alluded to how she was disrespected for not speaking properly in this excerpt and during a classroom session on 3/13/97.

In the section above, I have discussed instances of client preference for the student identity. I first discussed an instance that occurred at the end of an ABE session; then I discussed an instance which occurred during an Authors Workshop. In the first set of excerpts, by choosing the student identity, clients were foregoing or interrupting the author identity. While the author positioning has been sustained over several excerpts of talk in the second excerpt, Jolene ends up opting for the student identity. That is, her preference for earning respect by being a successful student overtakes her desire to sustain the author identity.

d. School Identities Do Not Undermine Author Identity

Identities from the School category did not always succeed at interrupting the author positioning. In the next section, I discuss three instances where clients successfully resisted student positioning to sustain the author identity. Then, I discuss one instance of a client "using" the compliant student identity to negotiate with a tutor and hold on to the author identity.

Here, I discuss excerpts of talk from several Authors Workshops and one ABE session which demonstrate instances of clients overcoming the student identity and asserting the author identity. The first set of excerpts comes from an Authors Workshop on 2/20/97 where Charles asserts the author identity even as I am positioning him as a student and taking up the teacher identity. This discussion is based on microanalyses found in Figures 9-11 and Tables 6 and 7 in Appendix A.

The Authors Workshop session, from which the transcript excerpts below are taken, involved just Charles and myself. I take up the identity of teacher by initiating a plan, but Charles responds by initiating his own plan. He perseveres in such a way that my identity as teacher is not sustained.

Near the end of an ABE session, Charles and I discuss what he wants to do in the impending Authors Workshop. I suggest that he might not have time to work on his life story. Charles tells me he wants a copy of what he's been writing so he can take it home and work on it, thus positioning me as scribe and himself as author.

001 **SWS:** What time do you actually have to leave this building?

002 **Charles:** I have to leave this building about 25, about 25 after (   ) just to walk up and catch the bus.

003 **SWS:** Yeah. There isn't any time for you to do any work on your life story.

004 **Charles:** Did you (find the chapter?)

005 **SWS:** I haven't, I was going to try and do that, uhm, today. (   )

006 **Charles:** Yeah, because you know what I needed to do, (I need to go through the last chapter.)

007 **SWS:** [To Charles] Right.

At line 1, I initiate a discussion of plans. I use the speech act "ask" to determine when he needs to leave in order to catch his bus. The important thing here is that I initiate this planning discussion, not the client. The tutor is voicing the ideology, "the tutor can intitiate plans" thereby positioning myself as having a right conventionally exercised by a teacher. I take up the identity of teacher here, referencing the Education discourse. This self-positioning as teacher suggests that the tutor has the higher status because she has assumed control. While there is some positioning here which could possibly undermine the status Charles and I attach to the author identity, at lines 3, 5, and 7, I position Charles as an author by alluding to the life history he worked on throughout the study. Charles takes up the author identity at lines 4 and 6. Also, by acknowledging my error in not having found Charles's missing manuscript, I undermine the status that comes with my self-positioning as teacher. At line 7, when I position Charles as an author by agreeing to his plan, I am also positioning myself as someone who is in a position to approve the plan he has initiated at line 6. Still, the ideology "clients can choose," expressed at lines 6 and 7 helps to undermine the position I take up at line 7.

A little later in the session, Charles again positions himself as having the perogative to create a plan for himself (line 14); in this case, he is talking about having to "make my own [home]work." He positions himself as student at line 14 because it appears he is talking about homework, a school-based task.

014 **Charles:** No, I have to make my own (work).

015 **SWS:** Would you want to get homework, do you want homework from here?

016 **Charles:** Yes.

017 **SWS:** As a way to kind of direct

018 **Charles:**[softly] yeah

019 **SWS:** your time.

He has initiated a plan because, as he explains at line 14, "I have to make my own [homework]" thus taking up the identity of teacher. (Homework is conventionally assigned by the teacher.) In the excerpt above, there seems to have been a misunderstanding on my part about the homework issue. The misunderstanding is cleared up in the next excerpt of talk. In the excerpt above, I am operating under the impression that Charles wants me to give him homework related to reading or math, not an assignment involving writing, thus positioning him as student not author. I suggest that Charles might want an assignment to help him direct his time more effectively. By his own admission, Charles has a hard time keeping on top of his life's many distractions and fitting in school work. I position myself as teacher when I ask him at line 15 if he wants more homework and also when I advise him at lines 17 and 19 that the homework would help him "direct his time." While the Liberal Empowerment discourse is evident when Charles claims that he must make his own homework, he also positions himself as teacher; thus, the rest of the exchange references the Traditional Education discourse.

In the excerpt below, it turns out that Charles is initiating, as homework, a writing project; here, he again expresses the local ideology, "clients can initiate plans." In this excerpt, I position myself as teacher; Charles, however, positions himself as author, even though he is hedging a little when he says "That I'm gonna *kind of* write." Charles takes on the role of advisor to the mother of the boy in Jamaica. The positioning here gives Charles more status than he had in the excerpt above.

> 020 **Charles:** Yes, because right now (   ) so that when I go back to class, I can uhm,// OK, there was a girl there, right? Who is doing uh, uhm
>
> BREAK IN THE TRANSCRIPT
>
> 028 **Charles:**No, not her, Anna, uh, uh, not her (   ) Anna. No, this girl she's having problems with her son. (   ) So, I came up with this idea of

my own. That I'm gonna kind of write / that she's asking me questions, what should she do (what she must tell her son in Jamaica) and, then, I'm gonna answer ( ).

Charles, at line 20, says "Yes," to the question about homework and goes on to tell me about his writing project (line 28). In doing so, he once again seems to reject the student positioning implied by my taking up the identity of teacher at lines 17 and 19 above. At line 28, two local ideologies which provide Charles with a higher status are voiced, "clients can initiate plans" and "clients can advise clients."

During the episode of talk, below, when I say, "OK," several times, I am not using the speech act "permit." I am not so much giving Charles permission to do this project; "OK" can mean that sometimes when I use it. Instead I use the speech act "affirm," thereby sustaining his positioning of himself as author and initiator of plans. But he then positions himself as a student in response to my use of the word homework to describe his project.

029 **SWS:** Yah, OK, so, a dialogue?

030 **Charles:** Yeah.

031 **SWS:** OK.

032 **Charles:** (So) I'm going to answer it back
( ) and take it back to her.

033 **SWS:** OK.

034 **Charles:** So I've planned ( )

035 **SWS**: That's your homework

036 **Charles**: work, homework and I'll get a copy and show it to you. You know, when I come back to school.

At lines 29-34, we discuss Charles's plan which I affirm at several places. Then, at line 36, when he promises, "I'll get a copy and show it to you. You know. When I come back to school," Charles seems to be positioning himself as a compliant student, one who wants the teacher's approval. My use of the word "homework," a term typically associated with the identity of teacher rather than with editor or scribe--identities the tutor takes up in Authors Workshop--may have triggered his taking up the identity of student. This may involve the speech act,"seek approval"; if so, he may be positioning himself here as the compliant student. His initiating the move gives him more status, however, than if I had suggested he bring the work in for me to see.

In the excerpt below, I slip out of positioning Charles as an author, into positioning him as a student, but Charles regains his position as author.

043 **SWS**:...And do you want some homework from this class?

044 **Charles**:Yes.

045 **SWS**:What do you think you need most for homework?/

046 **Charles**:(OK) What I need from my homework ( ) that book,[a note book in which Charles is writing his life story] say, if I can get like, uh, ( ) and you know, write the other sentence that

I supposed to do so that ( ). I cannot do no more writing until I get that

047 **SWS**:>> OK. Right...you want to be able to do some writing at home.

048 **Charles**: Yeh. (So) if you can tell me, if you can just look at it and tell me the last chapter.

049 **SWS**: Yah.

At lines 43 and 45, above, I have forgotten that Charles wants to work on the life history chapter at home and asked him what he wants as a homework assignment. Because the topic is homework, a school-based concept, I position Charles as student here and myself as teacher. As is often the case, both the Education and Liberal Empowerment discourses are referenced at lines 43 and 45; Charles is being asked about homework but he is being given a choice. Concomitantly, one local ideology expressed (at line 43 only) is "tutors can initiate plans; the other is "clients can choose." When Charles explains what he needs from me, at line 46, he repositions himself as author. He is also expressing the local ideology "client can initiate plans." Then, at line 49, I support Charles's repositioning of himself as an author. At this point in the transcript, I tell Charles that I will type out what he wants, thereby positioning myself as scribe. Charles, however, resists that positioning of myself.

057 **SWS**: >>(All right.) And as far as other homework that's not writing homework, uh, you think about what you might want to (have).

058 **Charles**: Yeah.

059 **SWS**: Because I think Jolene is going to want to start having homework too....

060 **Charles**: I just want the last

061 **SWS**: >> Yup.

062 **Charles**: paragraph.

At lines 60 and 62, Charles makes it very clear that he only wants me to give him the last paragraph of the chapter he is working on; he's not looking for homework. This is a forceful request by which he, in effect, directs me to provide the paragraph for him. By so requesting, he regains the author identity. I sustain the author positioning for him and the editor positioning for myself at line 61 when I agree to provide him with what he wants. I also sustain Charles's self-positioning as author when I proceed to the paragraph he needs so he can continue working on his life story. The tape ends while I'm reading the chapter. The Traditional Education discourse is referenced several times early in the conversational excerpt above; when Charles positions himself as author and that positioning is sustained by me, the Liberal Empowerment discourse is referenced.

It appears that in his positioning of himself as author by deciding to answer, in writing, questions put to him by the fellow student, Charles also takes up the identity as authority, thus achieving status in two ways, both of which are contained in my definition of author. When he proposes that for a writing project he will answer questions the fellow-student has about her son who lives in Jamaica, he positions himself as knowledgeable about raising children. He has something to say worth reading by another person. There are at least two episodes, caught on tape during the study, of his speaking authoritatively about children. First, during one of our class sessions, he expressed opinions about the care of the babies who came with their mothers to the center where our group met. At another time he reported proudly that he had helped his fiancee with her son. (Charles has children of his own but he rarely spoke about them during the study.)

So the teacher identity does not seem to have interrupted the author identity for Charles during this Authors Workshop. In fact, it seems that the author identity is the most predominant one for Charles; the conventional school-type speech acts that occurred were usually subordinate to it. Such was especially apparent during the second half of the Authors Workshop. Thus, in this Authors Workshop, Charles was positioned as student several times but persevered in the author identity. At the end of the episode I have just discussed, however, there is a possibility that the author identity is in competition with the student identity. While this may be so, by the end of the session, he seems to have maintained the author identity, and the status he had been building over the course of these excerpts of talk.

In this next set of excerpts, taken from an ABE tutoring session held on 2/11/97, I demonstrate how a client overcomes the student identity and takes up the resisting student identity in order to claim the author identity. Specifically, the client, Avianca, sustains the author identity when the tutor positions herself as knowing about how to best proceed with a writing project. While these are not Authors Workshop excerpts, they constitute an important instance during a basic literacy tutoring session when clients were positioned as authors. This discussion is based on microanalyses in Figure 12 and Table 8 in Appendix A.

Avianca discusses sending her life story to her social worker; I wholeheartedly support her initiative. My enthusiastic support of her idea, suggesting that she send it right away, elicits a response from Avianca which suggests that she may view me as taking up the teacher identity. My response to her indicates my support of her self-positioning as author while at the same time directing her how to proceed with her project, thereby taking up the teacher identity and ascribing the student identity to her.

[Avianca has just finished reading a section of her interview. SWS praises her reading.]

061 **Avianca:** That was good, that was good. I speak for my, for my...

062 **Avianca:** OK, go ahead. [To Jolene]

063 **Jolene:** That was good that you wrote that too. That's the same (   ). I didn't leave my kids with anybody either....

064 **Avianca:** You know what? I wish this conversation [transcribed interview], in the future, in the future, I mean (   ) and my social workers read this, in the future, you know.

065 **Jolene:** (   ).

066 **SWS:** Why should they read it in the future? They should read it now! [Said emphatically.]

Before line 61, Avianca has just finished reading a section of her interview and I respond by using the speech act "affirm;" I praise her for her reading, thus positioning her as student and as skilled reader. Earlier in the ABE session, I have told Avianca the book she suggests we read looks like a good choice, thus positioning her as teacher. (Tutors in the agency's program were usually the ones who chose the reading materials. In our group, clients had more opportunities to choose the reading materials.) At lines 61 and 64, Avianca positions herself as an author, as having composed something worth reading by her social worker. Although, at line 64, Avianca hedges when she suggests sending the interview to the social worker, both positioning moves (at lines 61 and 64) reference the Liberal Empowerment discourse and involve ascribing to Avianca a certain degree of status. At line 64, Avianca makes a comment that is not responsive to Jolene's. It seems to be a comment she's been waiting to make because her answer is not related to Jolene's statement. My statement seems to be interpreted as the speech act, "direct." So, at line 66 I take up Avianca's self-positioning, but simultaneously invoke the local ideology, "tutor can initiate plans, " and position myself as teacher and reference the Traditional Education discourse.

Avianca's response, in the next transcript excerpt, in effect, tells me to "back off;" with it there is also an assertion of agency. She positions herself as resisting student and as author over the course of two turns at talk and then appears to position herself as compliant student and me as teacher.

> 067 **Avianca:** [To SWS] Whenever, whenever! You know, to see how, you know, I explain my feelings in here, you know
>
> 068 **Avianca:** [To Jolene] And maybe they [the social workers will] understand us. Us. All of ( ). And we...not our teachers, us, we trying to...
>
> 069 **SWS:** That's the important
>
> 070 **Avianca:** [To other clients] Our teachers are trying to help us, you know, spend the time with us.
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

At line 67, above, Avianca resists the student identity ascribed to her at line 66. She expresses the local ideology, "clients can initiate plans." At lines 67 and 68 she references the Liberal Empowerment discourse. In the second part of line 68, however, she references the Traditional Education discourse. At line 68, Avianca first distinguishes herself and Jolene from "our teachers," and claims that the clients are the ones who are making an effort and deserve the notice of the social workers, not the tutors. She, however, then goes on at line 70 to make a conciliatory statement about "our teachers."

I interpret the short excerpt above as showing that Avianca doesn't feel she needs the teacher to tell her what to do, specifically when she is going to send the interview to her social workers. On the other hand, she appears not to want to alienate her teachers so she positions herself as grateful to them the second time she uses the phrase "Our teachers" in line 70.

In the excerpt below, Avianca again asserts her own agency in response to my assertion about how to proceed thus positioning herself as author, resisting the student identity brought into play by again my invoking the local ideology, "tutor can initiate plans."

> 077 **SWS:** [To Caroline]What if *she* just Xeroxed,
> couldn't *we* Xerox this right out of the book
>
> 078 **SWS:** [To Avianca] and *you* could (bring it) to
> him or her?
>
> 079 **Avianca:** I think I'm going to take this, I'm
> going to take this book and I'm going to show
>
> 080 **SWS:** (<<) Just take this book
>
> 081 **Avianca:** it to my social worker.
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT
> Note the pronoun changes in what I say in line 77 above.

The sequence that moves from using "she" to refer to Avianca to using "we" to include Avianca, to using "you" to refer to Avianca reveals my confusion about what Avianca's and my identities are at this juncture. Will Avianca be the scribe and do her own photocopying? Will Sharon be the scribe and do the photocopying so Avianca can take a copy of the interview to her social worker?

For a fleeting moment at line 78, I position myself as teacher and Avianca as student. Then at lines 79 and 81, using the speech act, "claim," Avianca asserts she'll take the book containing the interview, *Dialogues*, to her social worker, thereby positioning herself as author and resisting student. At line 80, I sustain the author positioning by affirming Avianca's plan.

A third instance of a client successfully resisting the student identity involves Avianca, in an Authors Workshop on 1/16/97, collaboratively composing a piece in a way she feels comfortable, orally. This discussion is based on microanalyses found in Figure 13 and Table 9 in Appendix A. Before the excerpt below begins, I tell clients that I have chosen a name for our group, Park Street Writers. This action is linked to the ideology "tutor can initiate plans" and references the Traditional Education discourse. I also read the work of other clients from the computer screen, positioning myself as good reader. During most of the Workshop session, there is a combination of talk and of Avianca dictating a story about herself when she was sent to the convent as a child. In the excerpt below, I invite her to compose a piece, positioning her as author and as student. Then, Avianca takes up the identities of author, oral composer, and compliant student. Once the dictating begins, I position myself as scribe, not teacher, and sustain the author identity for her.

> 061 **SWS:** So, Avianca, we need to, um, get a little something from you and
>
> 062 **Avianca:** >> ...( ) like what ?
>
> 063 **SWS:**....Oh, some, some more about, um, your maybe, maybe your time in the convent or um, talk some more about growing up, like being in the open air, that type of thing. Let's get a few things down, then I'm going to print it out and each

person will have something to do on their own and,
OK, and I'll, you tell me and I'll write it in.

064 **Avianca:**...OK
[Avianca begins dictating to me.] When I was seven
years old I was in the convent.

065 **SWS:**...mmm-hmmm

At line 61, above, I have just finished reading, out loud, a recent chapter of Jolene's life history from the computer screen. I turn to Avianca and, by asking her to contribute something, I position her as an author. But, I position myself as teacher, invoking the local ideology, "tutor can allocate turns" and I use the speech act, "direct." The "like what" at line 62 appears to express an unwillingness on Avianca's part to contribute; she is resisting the student identity, if so. If line 62 is an expression of unwillingness, Avianca quickly overcomes it at line 64, by beginning to dictate her piece, thus taking up the author identity and positioning me as scribe. While at line 61, I invoke both the Traditional Education and Liberal Empowerment discourses--the latter, because I position Avianca as author--for the rest of this excerpt the Liberal Empowerment discourse is being referenced. Even at line 63, where I am describing what I want Avianca to do, the speech acts I employ are "suggest" and "hedge," not "direct" thus equalizing the status between us somewhat and referencing the Liberal Empowerment discourse.

To paraphrase the next turn at talk, Avianca continues dictating her story about the convent explaining that she was sent there because she had hit her sister with a rock and that she was only supposed to stay there two weeks. Laughter from Avianca and the others accompanies the telling.

Then in the next transcript excerpt, I position myself as teacher. That is, I try to allocate a turn to compose to another client. I acquiesce, however, to Avianca's apparent desire to continue dictating. Avianca, thus, again positions herself as author, a positioning I sustain, thus relinquishing the teacher identity.

> 073 **SWS:**...OK. Well that's a good place to,
>
> 074 **Avianca:** >> (   )
>
> 075: **SWS:** >> you have some more? [I am trying to "make space" for another client to compose but then I decide to let Avianca continue.]
>
> 076 **Avianca:** Yeah, I meet, I meet so many (young ladies).

At line 73, above, I begin to say, "Well that's a good place [to stop]," and at line 75, I, again, try to make space for another client to dictate her piece to me. Rather than direct Avianca to stop, I employ the speech acts "suggest" and "hedge" which suggests that I am somewhat unwillingly taking up the teacher identity. Avianca positions herself as author when she resumes dictating. When I permit her to continue at line 76, I only position myself fleetingly as teacher by using the speech act, "permit," and then accept her self-positioning as author and drop my own self-positioning as teacher. By deciding to let Avianca continue, I sustain the author identity she has taken up. The local ideology at work here is "clients can choose, and it is linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse. As tutor, I support Avianca's continued bid for the floor. By honoring, here, the ideology, "clients can choose," I have to reject the local ideology "tutor can allocate turns," which references the Traditional Education discourse. In the excerpt below, there is a second example of Avianca resisting the student identity, by not allowing me to allocate a turn to another client. Both in the excerpts above and the one below, Avianca takes advantage of the support and "clearing space" by the tutor to sustain her identity as author.

[Avianca is still telling her story about the convent.]

084 **Avianca:**...um, what do you call, what do you call the other, the other things you, like on the little crosses

085 **SWS:** >>...cross stitch, cross stitch or ( )

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

089 **SWS:** I have cross stitch, uh huh, okay well maybe that's
090: >> [Avianca resumes telling her story.]

091 **SWS:** [Chuckles] Yeah, go ahead, I don't want to, yeah go ahead

092 **Avianca:** . . . the only thing, we pray so much

At lines 85 and 89, above, I am collaborating with Avianca to find the word for an activity she did when she was living in the convent. I invoke, at line 85, the local ideology, "tutor can acknowledge uncertainty," when I offer an answer to her question. The word "or" at the end of line

85 signals this uncertainty. By expressing uncertainty and collaborating with Avianca in lines 85 and 89, I position her as an authority and as having something to say worth reading. Status-wise, we are more on a par here than a teacher and student would usually be, even though at line 91 I employ the speech act, "permit," suggesting the presence of the teacher identity. At line 90, however, at the same time Avianca resumes dictating, I do not cut her off. I react with some surprise at line 91 but allow her to continue which she does at line 92.

Avianca took up the author identity in a way that was comfortable for her; she composed orally while I typed what she said. In the transcript excerpts above, the student and teacher positioning made by the tutor were not sustained, while the author identity was. In the next section, I discuss an interesting instance when a client uses a student identity to sustain the author position.

In the discussion of the next transcript excerpts, I demonstrate how a client took up the compliant student identity in order to sustain the author identity. This discussion is based on microanalyses found in Figure 14 and Table 10 in Appendix A. These transcript excerpts, from an Authors Workshop on 1/30/97, involved one client and me as the tutor. Very definite about how he liked to compose, Charles liked to write his pieces out by hand. He was unusual in the world of adult literacy clients in that his fluency in writing surpassed his fluency in reading. A skilled writer, i.e. one who could handwrite a piece easily, more readily took up the author identity. This was true for Charles.

During Authors Workshops, Charles usually preferred to compose using paper and pencil, a practice that came fairly easily to him. During the Authors Workshop on 1/30/97, he insisted on paper and pencil composing; he did not agree to my serving as scribe while he dictated his piece. Charles had the reputation among clients as a skilled writer. So, the Traditional Education discourse as manifested in a valorization of fluent, written composing was partly responsible for making the author identity more available to Charles. Also, Charles explicitly identified himself, over the course of the study, more as an author than did any of the other clients.

For Charles to use the compliant student identity to claim ownership of his work and proceed the way he wanted to is not surprising for two reasons. First, over the course of the study, Charles avoided confrontations with tutors. Secondly, because so much of what went on in even the Authors Workshops was school-oriented, the compliant student identity could be used as a kind of currency, as Charles uses it here.

Only Charles has chosen to participate in the Workshop session on this day. Charles was perhaps more free than other clients to opt for Authors Workshop; he did so frequently. One reason might be that, unlike Jolene and Avianca, Charles did not depend on welfare benefits. Thus he was not positioned within the Welfare Reform discourse as job-seeker. Another reason might be that Charles was not as concerned about getting a G.E.D. as Jolene and Avianca were. He mentioned it infreqently as a goal.

Charles and I move away from the others to the computer. Just before the excerpt of the Authors Workshop I discuss here, Charles has been reading from a draft of his life story; while he has been reading, I have been entering it into the computer.

Lines 140-159 involve a negotiation between Charles and me about whether Charles will handwrite or orally compose a section of his life story. He ends up going along with the tutor without sacrificing his view of how authors should work and his self-positioning as author.

> 140 **Charles:** In those days, [Charles is still reading his piece out loud for me to type into the computer.]
>
> 141 **SWS:** In those days.[I say it as I type it in.]
>
> 142 **Charles:** days. That's it.
>
> 143 **SWS:** All right.
>
> 144 **Charles:** For now.
>
> 145 **SWS:** OK. Do you want to keep going on writing (in) your . . .[note]book and then we'll put it in here. [the computer].
> 146 **Charles:** Yes.
>
> 147 **SWS:** (   ). Keep talking or keep writing?
>
> 148 **Charles:** What shall I do?
>
> 149 **SWS:** Either way.

At line 142, Charles sounds sure he is finished with composing by dictating his story to me. I support his decision when I permit him to stop at line 143. Both the

Education and Liberal Empowerment discourses are in play here: I express the ideology, "tutor can OK plans," but I also express the ideology, "clients can choose." But then, at line 144, Charles suggests he is only temporarily finished, finished "for now." Even though he has said "That's it...for now," at lines 145 and 149, I offer him a choice of continuing to dictate to me while I type or of writing on his own at line 147. While I reference the Liberal Empowerment discourse here by offering him a choice, I am once again positioning myself as teacher by exercising my perogative to offer a choice. Charles seems to be in a dilemma at line 148; he does not want to confront me but he does want to handwrite, not compose his piece orally. His hedge at line 144, "for now," suggests that he is trying to negotiate his way through this excerpt where he must contend with a tutor over method of composing.

150 **Charles:** Ok, I can, I can, uhm

151 **SWS:** ( )

152 **Charles:** OK, I can, uhm, I can talk it and then

153 **SWS:** >> Yeah. All right.

At lines 150 and 152, by employing the speech act, "hedge," as he lays out the plan he wants to follow, "I can talk it and then"--the "and then" implies he will switch to handwriting--he is still negotiating, using the compliant student identity as currency. While at lines 150 and 151 he is speaking falteringly, he seems to have resolved the dilemma at line 152. Charles decides to continue *dictating* his story. It's seems that he is trying to "please the teacher" here. Later in the session, he states that he will copy what I type into his notebook.

In the transcript below, there is an important shift away from Charles's self-positioning as compliant student. The way he finishes my sentence about the advantage of dictating suggests that he sustains his position as author, as knowing best how to proceed, and as owner of his work.

154 **Charles:** And then (we will have)
155 **SWS:** >>I think that's a very good way of
156 **Charles:** starting.
157 **SWS:** Yeah.
158 **Charles:** ( ).
159 **SWS:** Do both. I mean you know, that's good...

At line 155 I say, "I think that's [dictation] a very good way of...," and at line 156, Charles adds, "starting." He does not, as it turns out, intend to compose very much of his life story by dictating it to me. At line 156, Charles has finally won the negotiation that has been going on about method of composing his work, thus relinquishing the compliant student identity. While at Line 159 I try to show him that I am willing to compromise by saying that both dictating and writing are good ways of composing, at lines 155 and 159 I am still positioning myself as teacher. In the former, I express the local ideology, "tutor knows best," and in the latter, the local ideology, "tutor can OK plans."

Lines 145-159, above, involve a negotiation between Charles and me about whether Charles will switch to writing from oral composing. The result of the negotiation is that Charles maintains his position as an author who composes in writing rather than orally while at the same time agreeing to continue for a short time composing orally (see line 156.) At line 156, Charles is no longer employing the speech act, "hedge." By taking up the compliant student identity, he manages to go along with the tutor without sacrificing the identity of author, including maintaining his ownership of and control over his work.

Identities from the School category did not always succeed at interrupting the author positioning. In the section above, I discussed three instances where clients successfully resisted student positioning to sustain the author identity. Then, I discussed one instance of a client "using" the compliant student identity to negotiate with a tutor and hold on to the author identity.

In the first set of excerpts of talk, Charles asserts the author identity even as I am positioning him as a student and taking up the teacher identity. In the second set of excerpts, what appears to have happened was that, in my eagerness to persuade Avianca that she did have something to say worth reading by others, I unwittingly took up the teacher identity and positioned her as student. She, however, resisted the student identity and retained the author identity. In the third set of excerpts, Avianca successfully resisted the student identity again. Avianca tells a story about living at a convent as a child while I type it into the computer. When I try to take up the teacher identity, to give another client a turn at talk, Avianca continues to compose, thus successfully resisting the student identity I have ascribed to her. In the fourth set of excerpts, the client uses the compliant student identity to help him position himself as an author. That is, by taking up the compliant student identity, Charles uses it to successfully negotiate for using the kind of composing method he preferred, writing longhand. I had been suggesting that he compose orally, thinking it was more convenient for him. In making this suggestion, I unwittingly positioned myself as teacher and Charles as student. Charles does end up taking up the author identity after a successful negotiation where he temporarily takes up the compliant student identity to get what he wants.

e. Summary

The teacher and student identities interacted with the author identity in several ways. First, the tutor's taking up the teacher identity, sometimes, had the effect of positioning clients not as authors but as compliant students during Authors Workshops. Also, the taking up of the teacher identity involved the positioning of clients as unskilled readers and unskilled spellers at these times. Authors Workshops were intended to provide opportunities for clients to experience a different kind of context from that of the

ABE tutoring group. The teacher, compliant student, unskilled reader and unskilled speller identities that one might suppose would be more typical of the ABE tutoring sessions frequently "migrated" to the Authors Workshops.

Second, clients' preference for the compliant student identity interrupted the author identity. In one set of excerpts from an ABE tutoring session, two clients choose to work on word decoding skills rather than participate in an Authors Workshop. In an excerpt from an Authors Workshop, a client implied that she felt compelled to seek the kind of respect that the culture accords an educated person and thus took up the compliant student identity. As with the Authors Workshops discussed above, the Traditional Education discourse was visible in both the ABE session and in an Authors Workshop. That it would become more visible during an ABE tutoring session than during an Authors Workshop is predictable. The fact that this discourse manifested itself during an Authors Workshop demonstrates how one's intentions are often circumscribed by the power of some discourses, in this case the Traditional Education discourse.

Third, in some cases, clients successfully resisted the compliant student identity. In two episodes, one from an ABE tutoring session and one from an Authors Workshop, the same client successfully resisted being positioned as a compliant student. In the first case, the author positioning was initiated by the client, Avianca. In the other, it was initiated by the tutor. During an ABE session, the client, Avianca, decided that her social worker should read a piece in which she has explained all that she has accomplished and

I, as the tutoring session facilitator, urged and directed her to send or take the piece to the social worker as soon as possible, thereby taking up the teacher identity. During an Authors Workshop, at my suggestion, Avianca began to dictate to me a chapter in her life story. When it came time for another client to have a turn, Avianca did not yield the floor when I tried to allocate a turn to the other client. At least one client, Charles, used the compliant student identity as he worked toward his goal of resisting the directions being given by me. That is, he used that identity as he negotiated for writing rather than orally composing a chapter of his life story. He prided himself on the fluency with which he could write and successfully used the compliant student identity to convince me that he should use that medium for composing.

It is not surprising that the School identities interacted with the author identity often during Authors Workshops, even though the intent was that these sessions would give clients an opportunity to work at their writing not as a school task. (Doing writing as a school task involves focusing on teaching grammar and spelling using client pieces and excerpts from writing-related work sheets and checking clients' short answers to workbook questions about material they've read.) Several factors explain this phenomenon. For one thing, Workshop sessions were almost always preceded by a basic literacy tutoring session. Secondly, the site of the Workshop was an elementary school. Tutoring took place in a rather informal large room in the basement of the school with round tables set about and two large couches; but the interruption of tutoring sessions by the loudspeaker from the principal's office was one consistent reminder that we were meeting in a school. A key factor that helps explain why identities from the category of School were taken up during Authors Workshop is the power of the Education discourse. So, the fact that the Workshop was embedded in a school context and the power of the Traditional Education discourse both help to explain why identities from the School category were ascribed and taken up during Authors Workshops.

4. The Interaction of Identities from the Family Category with the Author Identity

a. Overview

While there were many more interactions between School and Authorship identities over the course of the study, there were some significant instances of Family identities interacting with Authorship identities. The instances of the sibling rival and the friendly sibling interacting with the author identity in this section demonstrate two kinds of interactions that occurred: the first one involves the interrupting of the author identity by the sibling rival identity; the second involves the sustaining of the author identity by the friendly sibling identity.

The competition among clients in our group manifested itself in the sibling rival identity. That there was competition among the clients might seem surprising given the fact that the clients and I frequently touted the group's "family feeling," in the sense of offering mutual supportiveness. A close look at how clients and tutors and clients interacted, however, revealed some fault lines in this "family feeling." Without microanalysis, the fact that there was an identity, the sibling rival identity, that undermined the communal, family feeling of the group may never have come so dramatically to light. These discussions are based on the microanalyses in Figures 15-17 and Tables 11 and 12 and in Figures 18 and 19 and Table 13 in Appendix A, respectively.

b. Impact on Author Identity of Sibling Rivalry

In this Workshop session, clients Avianca, Jolene, and Eleanor begin by reviewing and editing a group piece constituted of childhood memories. This editing session quickly devolves into a personal conversation that lasts until the end of the session. While there is evidence that identities from the Authorship category are in play over the course of the session, the peer rival identity from the Family category is also in play at times, enough times to interrupt the taking up of the author identity by Avianca and Jolene. The microanalyses on which this discussion is based can be found in Figures 15-17 and Tables 11-12 in Appendix A.

The talk, similar to that of a group of women sitting around a kitchen table, is informal and deals with topics like childrearing, dealing with the welfare system, and marriage. In the discussion of transcript excerpts that follows, I demonstrate how a client's taking up of the sibling rival identity interrupted the taking up of the author identity and how taking up the friendly sibling identity might have, interestingly, facilitated the taking up of the sibling rival identity.

In the first excerpt below, Avianca apologizes for talking about her problems. Jolene and I respond by taking up the friendly sibling identity when we suggest that we understand that she needs to talk. That is, we position her as a peer and support her.

> 173 **Avianca:**...I'm sorry (because) I'm talking to you [about] my problems.
>
> 174 **SWS:** Well, you have to get it off your chest and everyone has something. (If we) can't talk to each other then
>
> [Overlapping talk by Jolene and Avianca difficult to make out. My voice can be heard more clearly. The gist is that it's ok with everyone.]
>
> 175 **Jolene:** (No) I know how it is.
>
> 176 **SWS:** I think in the old days there was more chance to sit around and talk and now everybody's isolated. I don't know. More isolated? Off in your own world?

After Avianca apologizes for talking about her problems so much at line 173, Jolene and I support her by implying that it's OK to do so. We take up the friendly peer position and invoke the Therapeutic discourse. Perhaps by using the speech act "apologize," Avianca is clearing a space for her talk. Apparently she has been successful because my comment at line 176 sets off another spate of talk about problems.

My comment, "and now everybody's isolated...more isolated?" in line 176, positions me and Avianca as friendly siblings. Rather than declare my view about people being isolated, I hedge, helping to facilitate the taking up and ascribing of the friendly sibling identity.

In the next excerpt, Avianca rationalizes being on welfare and represents herself as an atypical "welfare mom." Earlier in the conversation under discussion here, at lines 112-124 and 130, Avianca expresses a negative opinion of welfare mothers who get the money but spend it on themselves instead of the children, in her view another abuse of the welfare system. In lines 112-124 and 130, Avianca asserts, "I'm a mother, you're a mother and there's a lot of mothers (not) tak[ing] care of our kids / and that's a lot of mothers ( ) be on the state. And they (give us) money to spend it on the childrens....some of us, we not take care of our children and some of us, we take care of our childrens....Some of (us are) responsible and some (of us) we not responsible."

When Avianca says at line 177 below, "Especially a lady grow his [sic] kids by herself," she picks up on the concept of being isolated to link the talk back to herself. At several lines below, I again take up the friendly sibling identity; I support Avianca's bid for the floor, something I did consistently over the course of the study. Interestingly, it appears that my taking up of this identity facilitates Avianca's taking up of the sibling rival position as she implies that she is not a "typical" welfare mom.

177 **Avianca:**...Especially a lady grow his [sic]
kids by herself; to be the mother, and to be the
father...Let me tell you, it's a (whole), let me
tell you, it's a cross full of nails on top of
your back. [Said emphatically]

178 **SWS:** Lonely too? Lonely to do it

179 **Avianca:** (>>) (I did it) by myself...

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

183 **SWS:** Oh. [softly] So you've been on your own.

184 **Avianca:** And then I be on my own, working
hard./( ). I only be on the state 7 years.
7 years I was [am] on the state. OK? 7 years. I
ain't gonna lie. (7 years.)

185 **SWS:** But you were

186 **Avianca:**>> Because I got sick

187 **SWS:** carrying a lot of kids when you were?

188 **Avianca:** >> I got sick.

189 **SWS:** (You always)

190 **Avianca:** (I got sick) because working so hard
carrying all that responsibility by myself. But I
was on the state ( ) He [her ex-husband]
was sending me support. (That's) the one thing I
can say about my "ex." He support his kids all the
way up ( ).

By taking up the friendly sibling identity at lines 178, 183, 185, and 187, I support Avianca's choice of topic: experiences with being a single parent. I even collaborate with her to construct her narrative by echoing the concept of her being alone. At lines 179, 184, 186, 188 and 190, Avianca appears to justify being on welfare. She emphasizes how short a time she was on welfare, and that she "got sick." Another way she tries to mitigate the impact of telling that she was on welfare is to stress the fact that her ex-husband supported their children at line 190. At lines 185 and 187, after Avianca has apologized for having been on welfare, I support her again and offer her the justification that, at that time, she was "carrying a lot of kids."

In the excerpt above, the sibling rival identity is evident in that Avianca seems to feel she needs to portray herself as a "responsible" welfare recipient, implying a contrast with Jolene. While I address my comments to Avianca, she addresses hers to Jolene as well as to me.

Some background information should shed light on this important source of the rivalry between Avianca and Jolene. Several times over the course of the study, Avianca represented herself as unlike a typical "welfare mom" as she does in this excerpt. By contrast, she viewed Jolene as a more typical "welfare mom." In conversations about welfare that took place over the course of the study, Avianca revealed that she wished to resist being positioned negatively by the Welfare Reform discourse. One strategy she used was to identify herself as a believer in the idea related to the Welfare Reform discourse, "People should earn what they want." An instance of such an expression of belief comes much earlier in the conversation under consideration, here, where she says "Anything we want, we have to earn it" (line 1). The positive position within the Welfare Reform discourse that she constructs here contrasts with the less favorable position she thinks Jolene occupies. In a private conversation, Avianca told me she thought Jolene was illegally receiving benefits to which she was not entitled because her husband was living with her.

Avianca's taking up of the sibling rival identity and holding the floor may be influenced by the fact that I am more vocal in my support of her than Jolene in these conversation excerpts. (See especially lines 183-187.) Interestingly, Avianca identified herself as "the favorite" among the clients several times over the course of the study. The fact is that I had a tendency, generally, to favor Avianca.

In the excerpt below, the clash between the sibling rival identity and the author identity continues when Jolene tries to make a claim about ignorance of welfare caseworkers. This claim has the potential to position her as an author, as having valuable knowledge. Avianca continues to interrupt her and compete with her for the floor. Both use the speech act, "instruct" several times in this episode of talk, thus taking up the teacher identity. They vie for recognition as the knowledgeable one.

> 199 **SWS:** Well, we sure did, uh, take off from this/(We're here) for each other. That's OK. OK, so, uh, Thursday
>
> 200 **Avianca:** A little reading, a little writing, and a little talking.
>
> 201 **SWS:** ( ).
>
> 202 **Jolene:** Hmmm, mmh.
>
> 203 **SWS:** It's important too. Learning is important ( ).

204 **Jolene:** (See) people don't understand. They got
their own opinion about things. And we got our own
opinion about it. Because they don't know what
you're going through

205 **SWS:** >> You've had the experience

206 **Jolene:** Yup

207 **SWS:** too, Jolene,

208 **Jolene:**And it's not like something that happen
to them. (   ).

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

211 **Avianca:** (   ) But we all, we all suffer

212 **Jolene:** >> That's right

213 **Avianca:** Because we all, we all live in this
earth

214 **Jolene:** >> See

215 **Avianca:** >> (We) all suffer

216 **Jolene:** >> See (people don't) realize

217 **Avianca:** >> in different ways, right?

218 **SWS:** Hmm, mmh.

219 **Jolene:** that, that God help them to get (up
there). The same way that God helped them to get up
there, he'll put them in a wusser [worser] fix.
(You) be mean and cruel
220 **Avianca:** >> You know what?

221 **Jolene:** it comes around

222 **SWS:** (>>) comes around again.

223 **Jolene:** Yup.

Before lines 204 above, Jolene has not had the floor much of the time. At line 204, however, Jolene finally gets the floor and after competing with Avianca for the floor, at lines 214-217 above, keeps it with my help. Although, at line 212, Jolene positions Avianca as a friendly sibling, an identity related to the Liberal Empowerment and Therapeutic discourses, at lines 214-220, she positions herself as knowledgeable, a repositioning which increases her status. The valuable knowledge she shares here is non school-based. Jolene finally ends up having the last word and keeping the floor.

In addition to working with a client on a piece, the editor identity involves generally facilitating the taking up of the author identity. At line 224, below, I take up the editor identity, thereby positioning them both Jolene and Avianca as authors.

> 224 **SWS**: (Do you think we could) talk (at) some time about how to, to get the stories into the hands of people who do not know what it [sic] is really going on and who need to know what is really going on.
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT
>
> 228 **SWS**: Your story
>
> BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT
>
> 230 **SWS**: >> can help uhm educate people who are making decisions, uh, that will affect other people.

So, in the excerpt, above, I explicitly position the clients as authors by suggesting they should send written accounts of their thoughts and experiences to their social workers and other officials, who make decisions having a significant effect on their lives. That is, I encourage them to share the valuable knowledge they have with people who need to hear them, the social workers and others who are trying to help people traverse the difficult ground of welfare reform. I position Avianca and Jolene as having something to say or write that is worth reading by others, i.e. as authors, thus invoking the Liberal Empowerment discourse.

At lines 224, 228, and 230, I explicitly position Jolene and Avianca as authors. As the Workshop session continues, neither client takes up the author identity I ascribe to them. Apparently, because of Avianca's rivalry with Jolene as to who is positioned more favorably by the Welfare Reform discourse, Avianca does not take up the author position. She is intent on proving her behavior to be atypical of "welfare moms." Her rivalry also partly interrupts Jolene's taking it up. Jolene wants to position herself favorably vis a vis Avianca. While Avianca predominates in these conversational excerpts, Jolene takes the floor away from Avianca twice to register *her* views with me. (See lines 204, 208, 216 and 219).

The sibling rival identity is linked here to the Welfare Reform discourse which forces people to pay attention to short term goals rather than long-term goals, i.e. doing the time-consuming work of preparing their stories to send to the social worker. The Welfare Reform discourse is obviously referenced here but the Traditional Education discourse is also referenced. That is, both discourses have at their centers the valuing of individual effort and merit.

By taking up the position of friendly sibling, Jolene and I sustain the conversation about Avianca's trials and triumphs that constitutes her veiled attack on the way Jolene has been managing to survive under conditions created by welfare reform. Apparently valuing more the position of successful peer rival, it seems that Avianca never hears me position her as author. It was more important to her to be knowledgeable about such topics as the "right" way to be on welfare. The leverage she gains from positioning herself as a successful sibling rival by claiming to be a "good" welfare recipient and by being a successful talker who has held the rest of the group members' attention over much of the Authors Workshop seems more important to Avianca. It appears that these "accomplishments" become more important than the sense of self-esteem she might have gained by sending off her story to an audience of welfare officials. The sibling rival identity taken up by Avianca is probably undermining my positioning of both Avianca and Jolene as authors.

Interestingly, Avianca may also be positioning herself within the Traditional Marriage and Family discourse when she claims to have received financial help from her husband and when she claims to have raised the children rather than employing a caretaker for the children.

Finally, Avianca's critique of women who abuse the welfare system seems also to constitute an instance in which Avianca positions herself as the favorite by implying that she is not a welfare "cheat." While I personally believe that Jolene was honest in her dealings with the welfare system, her guilt or innocence is not the important point here. More relevant to my discussion is my suggestion that Avianca is taking up the identity of sibling rival. Avianca's taking up of the identity of sibling rival interferes during this Authors Workshop with her taking up the author identity. Jolene's early response, for example, at line 175, to Avianca's claims was supportive, using the speech act, "affirm," but then when she interrupts Avianca and successfully bids for the floor, at line 219, she seems to shift her attention away from taking up the author position and focus instead on positioning herself as positively as possible vis a vis Avianca. Jolene may also want to look good in the eyes of the tutor. Gaining the respect of others meant a great deal to Jolene. It seems that Jolene's need to be respected prevailed over the self-esteem she may have gained from the author identity. She was competing with Avianca but, unlike Avianca, Jolene at least "gave a nod" to the positioning as author when she agreed that the officials don't know what it's like to be a mother on welfare. What became paramount, however, to Jolene, in the end, was the need for respect. What became paramount for Avianca was to sustain her position as good welfare recipient and teacher's favorite.

c. Friendly Sibling Identity Sustains Author Identity

In the discussion that follows, I focus on excerpts from talk that occurred during an Authors Workshop that involve Charles and a former tutor, Jackie. In these excerpts, Jackie positions Charles as a friendly sibling and an author.

These two identities work synergistically to give Charles a sense of status not shared by the other client Jackie is working with during this session. During the same Workshop session, Jackie positions Jolene very differently (see pp. 189 ff.).

Background information about the relationship between Jackie and Charles is relevant here. Jackie had come to know Charles well. He had been a longstanding member of Jackie's tutoring group--I took over Jackie's group a few months before the study began--and was, like Jackie, a member of the board of trustees of the agency. The positioning of Charles as friendly sibling and as author is enhanced by this outside identity, board member. This is an example of an identity from outside of the research site having an impact on positioning occurring at the site. The identity of board member is explicitly ascribed to Charles at the end of this episode of talk. This does not, however, limit its impact to that moment. It is an identity that helps to sustain Jackie's positioning of Charles throughout this Workshop session.

Another important aspect of the background that bears on the positioning in this Workshop is the fact that when Jackie was the tutor of Charles, Jolene, and Avianca, she worked intensively with the clients on writing. Of the three clients, Charles seemed, during my study, to have developed the most comfort with writing.

In the first excerpt, Jackie and Charles are discussing a chapter of his life story. Jackie takes up the position of editor and Charles that of author. They converse on a largely equal level. Jackie is reading over a chapter from Charles's life story and Jolene sits on the other side of Jackie and is also working on a chapter from her life story, when the excerpt begins.

001 **Jackie:** [to Charles] Can I correct things

002 **Charles:** Yes.

003 **Jackie:** as I see them? // Why don't you want
to say ( ) took on the name Prince Lightning?

004 **Charles:** Huh?

005 **Jackie:** You don't want to say it yet?

006 **Jolene:** ( ).

007 **Charles:** Yeah, not yet.

008 **Jackie:** OK.

009 **Charles:** I'm gonna put it (here) but / because
if you notice (I'm) writing ( ) start out "The
Life of Frederick Browne" (and it) continues, uhm

010 **Jackie:** ( ). Otherwise you're skipping over
to your life (rather than) continuing.

Close attention to lines 1-10 of the transcript reveals strikingly that Charles is positioned by Jackie, the tutor, as author. Comcomitantly, Jackie has taken up the identity of editor. Jackie's use of the word "correct" at line 1 and her expression of the ideology, "tutor can OK client plans" at line 8 might signal her taking up of the teacher identity. The way the workshop proceeds for Charles, however, suggests that the author positioning takes precedence, with Jackie taking up the editor identity. One thing to keep in mind is the fact that Charles frequently asked the tutor he was working with to correct his writing. That is, coming as it does from Charles, the request transforms the act of correcting of a written piece into the act of an editor, not a teacher. Also, Jackie, at lines 1 and 3, asks Charles's permission to correct his piece, showing respect of Charles's ownership of his piece.

An especially clear example of talk in which Charles is positioned as author occurs at lines 5-7, where Jackie asks Charles about the organization of his piece. Again, she approaches his work as an editor of a published writer might. The local ideologies, "clients own and control their work," and, "clients know best," expressed here, are linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse. At line 9, Charles expresses the local ideology, "clients know best," when he makes a claim about his work, thereby sustaining the author identity for himself. At line 10, Jackie positions herself as editor when she explains her query at line 5.

In the excerpt, below, Charles and Jackie talk about his life story again. They are talking about the diction in Charles's piece. Again, in effect, it constitutes a conversation between an author and his editor. Just before the talk in these lines, Charles explains that he wants to put the word "cat" in because he wanted people to know what he meant by the word "puss." Jackie goes along with Charles's idea, suggesting he put "cat" in parentheses.

> 036 **Jackie:** [To Charles] I like the word "puss" because that's a word you would use in Jamaica.
>
> BREAK IN THE TRANSCRIPT
>
> 041 **Charles:** [That's how we talk] in Jamaica.

> 042 **Jackie:** I like this, "I saw the fire gash" [a clause in Charles's life story] which you put now as "flash"// . . . .

Jackie affirms Charles choice of diction at line 36, expressing the local ideology, "tutor can praise client." At line 41, Charles demonstrates that he, too, is an authority on the language the way Jackie appears to be at lines 36 and 42. He instructs Jackie, here. He has positioned himself as knowledgeable about Jamaican language, an expertise based on experiental knowledge, not on school-based knowledge. Thus, Charles is positioning himself as author. At line 42, Jackie expresses the local ideology, "non-standard language is OK," when talking about Charles's use of Jamaican vernacular. She is taking up the editor identity, another identity included in the Authorship category.

The relationship is equitable during these two excerpts of talk. By contrast, during this same Authors Workshop, Jackie positions another client not as an author but as a student needing help and as an unskilled speller, thus positioning that client consistently as having a lower status than Charles. By pointing out this difference, I can underscore better how the positioning of Charles and of Jolene by Jackie differed.

The equity of status and the friendship Charles and Jackie appear to enjoy has framed Jackie and Charles's interactions during this Authors Workshop. Later in the conversation, at lines 51-57, Jackie asks him about matters at the Resource Center, positioning both of them as friendly siblings and Charles as knowledgable. She is "chatting" with

Charles as much as she is getting information from him about the Director of the Resource Center.

> 051 **Jackie:** [To Charles] Whose office is that back there? Is that, uh,
>
> 052 **Charles:** Laurie's.
>
> 053 **Jackie:** Laurie? Is that Laurie who just walked out?
>
> 054 **Charles:** No, that's, uhm, that's (the secretary).
>
> 055 **Jackie:** And is Laurie here today?
>
> 056 **Charles:** No, she's (not coming, she's coming) today because I wanted to see her ( ).

Jackie continues, in the excerpt below, to position Charles as a peer and a friendly sibling.

> 057 **Jackie:** Are you going to the Board meeting this afternoon?
>
> 058 **Charles:**This afternoon? [very softly]
>
> 059 **Jackie:** 4:30 //
>
> 060 **Charles:** Today's what day?
>
> 061 **Jackie:** Thursday. Can you go? Or are you working? /
>
> 062 **Charles:** (working)/
>
> 063 **Jackie:** Do you want me to tell them that you're going to try to get there?
>
> 064 **Charles:** Yes, I'll try, I'll try. ( ). [quiet chuckle]

Jackie offers to do a favor for Charles at line 63. Charles enjoys a special status with Jackie, unlike the status of other clients vis a vis Jackie, in part, because he has an outside identity that carries with it a different status. Jackie's positioning Charles as friendly sibling has facilitated his taking up of the identity of author in this Workshop.

Over the course of the Workshop session, Jackie positions Charles as an author and as an authority several times, as well as positioning him and herself as friendly siblings, facilitating the uptake of the author identity. For example, in the course of the conversation (not quoted above) Jackie tells Charles that she's been inquiring about job possibilities for Charles at a restaurant at an institution where she volunteers. In telling Charles about it, she uses the word "friend" to characterize their relationship. "I told him [the chef] I had a friend...[who would be a good prospect for a job at the institution's restaurant.]" Their relationship as boardmembers may have influenced how Jackie interacted with him, i.e., how she positioned him and how he responded to that positioning.

d. Summary

In this section, I have discussed how the two identities from the Family category, sibling rival and friendly sibling, interacted with the author identity. Although several of the participants regularly referred to the tutoring group as being "like a family" and there was evidence of mutual support between and among participants, contentiousness and competition also marked conversational exchanges. In this section, I first discussed transcript excerpts from an Authors Workshop in which both the friendly sibling and the sibling rival identities were taken up. Jolene and I positioned ourselves and Avianca as friendly siblings. We were trying to be supportive of Avianca as she told about her experiences as a mother on welfare. I also positioned both Avianca and Jolene as authors when I suggested they should send accounts of their experiences on welfare to welfare officials. Neither took up the author identity; instead, Avianca took up the sibling rival identity. She competed with Jolene by representing herself as a "good" reponsible welfare recipient and, by implication, representing Jolene as an irresponsible welfare recipient. One interesting aspect of the positioning that occurred during this episode of talk was that by taking up the friendly sibling identity vis a vis Avianca, Jolene and I may have unwittingly encouraged Avianca to talk about herself positively, thus clearing a space for her to represent herself as superior to Jolene as a welfare recipient.

In this section, I also discussed transcript excerpts from an Authors Workshop in which the tutor positioned the client as a friendly sibling and as an author. These two identities seemed synergistic, each facilitating the taking up of the other. Jackie, the tutor, positioned Charles as a peer and referred to him at one point as a "friend." Jackie positioned herself as editor when talking about Charles's writing, never taking up the teacher identity. By contrast, during the same episode of the Authors Workshop, Jackie positioned herself as a teacher and Jolene as an unskilled speller and student.

Thus identities from the Family category sometimes interrupted and sometimes facilitated the taking up of the author identity. There are also some important friendly sibling positioning moves in the final Workshop I discuss in this chapter, to which I now turn.

5. The Fragility of the Author Identity in a School Context

a. Overview

In this section, I discuss transcript excerpts from an Authors Workshop on 3/6/97. This discussion is based on microanalyses that can be found in Figures 20-22 and Table 14 in Appendix A. This Workshop session involved identities from the three categories, School, Authorship, and Family. I discuss it in a separate section because it not only demonstrates the fragility of the author identity in a school context, but it also involves an especially complex mix of positioning moves. The findings reported in this chapter so far do not point to a simplistic view of School identities inevitably interrupting the author identity. The discussion that follows supports an even more complex view of how the author identity was interrupted and of how its taking up was facilitated. I suggest that a feeling of sibling solidarity may have helped to sustain the author identity for clients, at least for a while.

b. Interaction of All Three Categories of Identities

The excerpts I discuss below come from an Authors Workshop involving Avianca, Jolene, Georgia, and two fellow members of Georgia's group, Mary and Charlene. We gathered to work on a letter to the editor, a draft of which had been generated at an earlier session. The letter was intended to set the record straight as to a newspaper account of an event involving clients and held at the school where the tutoring groups met. Specifically, three of the clients had spoken at an event that was intended to promote literacy and only one of the names of the clients was included in the account. The clients largely composed the letter, with me functioning as scribe at the computer typing in what they wanted to say. By having suggested that we write a letter to the editor of the local newspaper, after the 2/25/97 ABE session, I have already positioned these clients as authors, i.e., as having something worth saying and having it published. By suggesting the letter to the editor, I also affirmed the clients' self-positioning as authors at the end of an ABE session on 2/27/97, the day they decided they were angry enough about the story to want to compose a letter to the editor about it.

In the first excerpt of talk, we begin by assembling around the computer; the physical positioning of clients that occurs reflects my differing relationship to each of clients. I position the clients as authors while at the same time expressing the local ideology, "tutor can initiate plans," and thus positioning myself as teacher in addition to positioning myself as editor. When I position Avianca and

Georgia as author and student at lines 2 and 3, I also position them as friendly siblings.

> 001 **SWS**: [To Jolene] All right, you can just turn your chair around, uh, Jolene, and...[There is talking in the background.]
>
> 002 **SWS**: And Avianca, do you want to bring a comfortable chair? [Sound of furniture moving and talk in the background.]( ).Pull up a chair//a chair. [Long pause.]
>
> 003 **SWS**: All right.// Here you go, Georgia. ( ) [showing her a place to sit.]

At line 1, I say to Jolene that she can turn her chair around and at line 2, I invite Avianca to bring over a "comfortable chair." When I speak to Jolene, my tone of voice is not as friendly as it is when I invite Avianca to find a chair. The tone of voice I use with Georgia also suggests a friendly relationship even as I position her as student and myself as teacher by saying, "Here you go, Georgia." This different tone of voice may signal to Jolene that she is being positioned differently from the way the others are positioned. This physical and tone-of-voice positioning of Jolene might have colored her experience of the session to come. Indeed, over the course of the study Avianca and I more frequently positioned each other as friendly siblings than did Jolene and I.

Once everyone is positioned and settled, at line 4, below, I initiate the composing process by reading from a handwritten draft clients had composed with my help during a previous session. This excerpt suggests that there is some question of who belongs to the group of authors.

004 **SWS**: All right. This is what we have so far ...uh [I read from a draft written earlier in the month and type the words from the draft into the computer as I read. There is some background talk while I read and type.] [Reading] We are disappointed that you left the names of two of our students out of the article about the "Reading Wrap Up" at Park School.
[Then I initiate a discussion of the draft.] You know,it isn't "our students" because you're writing it, we're all writing it together....Does this make more sense? [Talk in background as I type in new wording.] So what do you want to say now? [Reading] All three spoke /

At line 4, I position myself as skilled reader and as scribe and the clients as authors. I reiterate the positioning of the clients as authors in the last section of my statement that constitutes line 4 but, at the same time, I position myself as skilled reader, an identity from the School category, even as I position myself as scribe, an identity from the Authorship category. In the course of rereading what was drafted at line 4, I suggest that "our students" doesn't really sound right. I use the pronouns "you" and "we" in the same utterance referring to the composers. I position myself as editor here. Furthermore, I claim membership in the group of clients who are authors when I say, "We're all writing it together." I position myself and the clients as friendly peers. What's at issue is not whether the clients are positioned as authors but who is included in the group of authors composing the letter. Do I remain outside of the group by virtue of being the tutor, the convener of the session, the skilled reader, and the editor? As the session continues, this issue continues to occupy the participants.

In the following excerpt, Georgia references two local ideologies linked to the Liberal Empowerment Discourse, "clients know best," and "clients deserve respect." More significant to the point I am making here is that Georgia is also referencing another local ideology, "solidarity is important." This ideology invokes both the Liberal Empowerment and the Therapeutic discourses.

> 005 **Georgia:** Only one was mentioned.
>
> 006 **SWS** : OK. [Reading] Only one student, however, was mentioned. ( ). OK. / Uhm, now what? [prompting] Only one was mentioned in the article/
>
> 007 **Georgia:** We feel that the other two /should have been mentioned. [Dictated with some finality]
>
> 008 **SWS:** [I type, saying the words out loud as I do.] Now, (now, something else you've all said) would work here. [Reading] If what all of us had said had been reported (in the newspaper) other adults would be inspired to learn to read. All right. And then, I think I remember, uh, someone saying, "It's never too late." (Do you want) to put that in here?// Uhm, but maybe there something ( ). [Reading after I have typed the new sentence in] If what all of us had said were in the paper, other adults [would feel better about needing to learn to read].

At line 5, Georgia takes up the position of author. She sustains the author identity for herself and also takes up the editor identity by suggesting an addition to the letter at line 7. At lines 5 and 7, Georgia is expressing the local ideology, "clients know best." At line 6, I position myself as editor as I type Georgia's suggestion because I alter the wording. At line 8, I assert the editor identity again, as well as expressing the local ideology, "tutor can propose plans," when I suggest we add wording I remember from an earlier conversation on the issue. By making an editorial suggestion after the finality of Georgia's comment at line 7, I locate myself outside of the composing group. Georgia sounds finished, yet I suggest perhaps there's more to say. Taking up identities of teacher, skilled reader, and skilled writer from the School category might exclude me from the group of authors orally composing the letter to the editor as well as disqualify me from the friendly peer identity.

I think a case can be made here for Georgia's invoking of the local ideology, "solidarity is important," at lines 5 and 7. The purpose of the sentence Georgia wants to add to the letter is to suggest that everyone be represented in the news article, not just Georgia. She is being supportive of her fellow clients here, positioning herself and them as friendly siblings. This reference to the value of mutual supportiveness usually signalled the necessity of everyone cooperating with and supporting each other.

While Georgia, in taking up the fight for recognition for those not mentioned in the article above, implies the value of group solidarity, Jolene makes the local ideology, "solidarity is important," explicit. At line 16 and at line 50 (See transcript excerpt below), Jolene wants to make sure that everyone agrees with what is being said. At line 16, she says "So we all (agree)." Then at line 50, she makes a statement that " We all need to stay together." This invoking of the local ideology about group solidarity can be read as signalling a non-hierarchical relationship among people in the group. This valuing of mutual supportiveness references the Therapeutic discourse.

Related to the referencing of the local ideology, "solidarity is important," I discuss below the question of who is and who is not being positioned as friendly siblings and fellow authors. That is, lines 18-33 constitute a moment where we seem to be working through the issue of who should be counted as friendly siblings and authors of the letter, and more generally how clients and the tutor are positioned in relation to each other.

> 019 **SWS:** [Reading] And it's never too late. That's Ray, I think Ray said that.[I type. Then I say something about how it's good to put that in because it shouldn't be an entirely critical letter.] All right...[I type.// Then I ask who should sign it, just the students or me as well.] I don't have to have my name on it.
>
> 020 **Clients:**( ).
>
> 021 **SWS:** I can put it on if you want it.
>
> 022 **Clients:** Yes (because).
>
> 023 **SWS:** I'll tell you something. . . .[Here, I explain that the newspaper calls you to verify that the letter was actually written by the purported author.] Now, I can give, (put) your phone numbers in. Or I can put my phone number in./
>
> 024 **Clients:** Put your phone number.
>
> 025 **SWS:** Would you rather
>
> 026 **Clients:** >> Yeah.
>
> 027 **Avianca:**( ).
>
> 028 **SWS:** I mean, that would be the reason.
>
> 029 **Charlene:** Hmm,mm. [Yes].

030 **SWS:** Avianca, my phone number or your phone number?

031 **Avianca:** Your phone number.

032 **SWS:** Because the Hampton Digest will call.

033 **Avianca:** You are the head, you are the head (of the group).

034 **SWS:** In this little enterprise [only].

At lines 19-21, I discuss with the clients the matter of whose telephone number should go on the letter. Because the clients know me as tutor, my moves to solicit the advice of the clients may be, in their eyes, an attempt to position myself as a "leader." At line 33 Avianca seems to claim the teacher identity for me and by doing so, the student identity for herself and the others. When Avianca says, "You are the head (of the group)," her statement seems to confirm this interpretation. After Avianca answers that I should put my phone number in the letter because I am the "leader" of the group, I use the speech act "hedge" when I say at line 34, "In this little enterprise only." I say this not wishing to claim the teacher identity and not wanting to close out the opportunity for a client to be in control. At line 33, the student identity is fleetingly taken up when Avianca expresses the local ideology, "tutor deserves explanation," when she justifies her choice. Also having presented the question at line 30 in an either/or form rather than simply asking who should sign the letter, I might have unwittingly evoked Avianca's positioning of me as the one in charge, thereby signalling a hierarchical relationship that conventionally exists between teachers and students. While the excerpt above contains frequent references to the Liberal Empowerment discourse, it also contains references to the Traditional Education discourse. The referencing of the latter discourse may have undermined whatever status the clients, other than Georgia, may have had when they were positioned as authors by me at the beginning of the session. My hedge at line 34 seems to be an expression of my desire not to be thought of as outside of and above the clients. It's not clear whether the hedge works to undermine the hierarchy.

At line 53 below, I may unwittingly sustain the positioning move Avianca makes at line 33 above, when I use the prepositional phrase "for everybody." That is, when I use the word "for" in this statement, the preposition underscores the fact that, in my identity as scribe, and maybe as teacher, I was writing the letter *for* and not *with* the students. My position in the conversation below seems to be outside of, and perhaps "above" the "circle" of friendly siblings composing the letter.

050 **SWS:** (Whatever they do),they better print it!

051 **Georgia:** They better print it right
(   ). [Chuckling] Go back to school and
learn right!// How to print it out right! (   ).

052 **Jolene:** Because we all gotta stay together,
that's how come I say we all want to be in
agreement because (   ). [Said rapidly.]

053 **SWS:** (>>) Thank you all. I think *we* did /a
good thing *for* everybody

This last statement suggests that I'm unsure about whether I belong in the group being addressed, at least as friendly sibling. The use of both the prepositional phrase "for everybody" and the pronoun, "we" signals this confusion. I use the pronoun "we" positioning myself as peer, which suggests a more equitable relationship among us as we work. This "we" echoes my inclusion of myself in the group at line 50 where I express my own sentiment but I also reference the clients' overall belief that "clients deserve respect." When Jolene used "we" in *her* statement, at line 52, it wasn't clear if she considered me a member of the group. If Jolene means to include me in the group by using the pronoun "we" (line 52), then it might be construed as a counter-move to the hierarchical positioning move Avianca makes at line 33 and the other clients make when they reply "Yes" (said decisively) after I ask if I should sign the letter. I indicate, in my statement "They better print it!" at line 50, that I feel strongly that it is worth writing to the editor. I position myself here as editor and friendly sibling. Because of my strong feeling about the editor printing the letter, I perhaps earn a place in the group Jolene refers to when she uses the pronoun, "we" at line 52. Jolene and Georgia also feel very strongly that it is worth writing to the editor. (Avianca feels less strongly about it.) In spite of my vehement claim where I indicate agreement with Georgia, Jolene, and Avianca that they deserve recognition and respect, the positioning of the clients at line 53 as students when I use the preposition "for" appears to place me outside the group because I take up the position of teacher.

Also at issue here, perhaps, is the pronoun "everybody." If I had said for "ourselves," the friendly sibling identity might have been achieved, or at the least proposed.

During this Authors Workshop, my attempts to position myself as friendly sibling and peer had mixed results because I also inadvertently positioned myself as having more skills and, therefore, as having the status of a highly literate person. Taking up the position as scribe, I also took up the skilled reader and writer identities from the School category. Furthermore, throughout the excerpts above, I positioned myself as teacher. All these positioning moves are related to the local ideology "educated people have a higher status," linked to the Traditional Education discourse. Ironically, by taking up the identity of scribe from the Authorship category, I, in effect, underscored the fact that the literate behaviors I was capable of performing were behaviors that clients were less able or not able to perform. Clients of the agency have low-level literacy skills or they would not be participating in our agency's program. Thus, it would be logical for them to ascribe to themselves the lower status linked to being unskilled writers and readers. As tutor I attain, by comparison, a higher status because I am a skilled writer and reader. In effect, clients of programs like ours have been shaped into the identities of "unskilled readers and writers" by the Traditional Education discourse. It expresses the idea that the tutor is able and that the clients are not: they lack school-based literacy knowledge and skills that the tutor is well-versed in. Programs like the one they are participating in are one vehicle for the local expression of this aspect of the Traditional Education discourse. The differences of identity and status that are implied by this discourse are probably so firmly in place in the eyes of the clients that whenever the tutor tries to even out the playing field, her efforts will be "interrupted" by identities as shaped by this discourse.

Thus the Traditional Education discourse was invoked even while I assumed I was invoking the Liberal Empowerment discourse. My self-positioning may have threatened the clients' taking up of the identity of author and the status of the clients during the workshop. The clients, in response, may have pulled closer together in a solidarity move, taking up the identity of friendly siblings. The group solidarity moves may, in turn, have been a way for the clients to sustain their status, originally ascribed to them when I and they positioned themselves as authors, as having something worthwhile to say to the editor of the editorial page.

Clients demonstrated over the course of the study much community-based and experiential knowledge and know-how. For example, Georgia had frequently demonstrated that she had a significant ability to argue orally for the necessity of supporting literacy programs financially and by participating in them. She used this skill in taking the lead when the original version of the letter to the editor was drafted and also during the Workshop session discussed above. In addition to the feeling of solidarity, the impact of the orator identity--an identity from outside the research site--perhaps had a mitigating effect on Georgia's positioning as unskilled writer and reader. Such an identity is usually rendered invisible by the Traditional Education discourse because of its emphasis on written composing.

c. Summary

In this section, I have discussed an Authors Workshop in which a group of clients and I worked together to write a letter to the editor of the local paper. In the course of the composing session, various identities became apparent and interacted with each other. First, I positioned the clients as authors when I convened the composing session; however, as we began to work with each other, I ascribed to myself the School identities of skilled speller and reader as I typed their suggestions into the computer and then read them aloud. At the same time, I positioned the clients as unskilled spellers and readers in so doing. Throughout the composing session, it was unclear as to whether the clients, as they positioned each other as friendly siblings, also positioned me as friendly sibling, thereby including me in the group of composers. Although my identities and status as good reader and good speller set me apart from the clients and reminded them that we were not peers, the clients themselves seemed to use the friendly sibling identity to sustain the author identity for themselves.

6. Summary:Moment-by-Moment Interaction of Identities

In the discussion of transcript excerpts which constitute the third section of this chapter, I first demonstrated how sustaining the author positioning was accomplished. Clients were scaffolded in their taking up and maintaining the author identity largely by the tutor taking up the identity of editor and avoiding the identity of teacher. Then, I discussed findings related to the interaction of identities from the Authorship and School identities. I demonstrated how the author positioning was interrupted by the teacher and student identities. While facilitating Authors Workshops for a large heterogeneous group of clients, I took up the teacher identity. This identity probably helped to interrupt the taking up of the author identity by the clients. Another tutor who repeatedly positioned a client during a Workshop session as an unskilled speller, and herself as teacher, also interrupted the author identity.

The Traditional Education discourse was frequently referenced in these instances. The fact that School identities and the Traditional Education discourse were frequently present is not surprising given the context--a public elementary school--in which the Authors Workshop sessions were held. It's likely that the Traditional Education discourse and identities from the School category were frequently present also because every time there was an Authors Workshop, it was either preceded or followed by basic literacy skills sessions. Finally, my own identity identities from the School category. Notable, however, are one client's choice of student identity to facilitate the author identity and other clients' choice of the student identity over the author identity. Findings related to the effect of discourses on author positioning include the fact that the Liberal Empowerment and Traditional Education discourses were frequently invoked simultaneously and that seeking a favorable position in the Traditional Education discourse may have been viewed by clients as a way to offset a negative positioning by the Welfare Reform discourse.

The tutor was not always the one who took up identities from the School category or invoked the Traditional Education Discourse; clients also did so and, thereby, interrupted the author identity. When clients preferred the identity of student to that of author, that suggests a high regard for being educated and more importantly as a means to attract that high regard to oneself. The student identity was also taken up as a means of getting a G.E.D. in order to find a job. Clients on welfare who were forced into job-hunting by the "jobs first" credo of the Welfare Reform discourse were told sometimes that they would need a G.E.D. to get a job. Thus, when a client preferred the student identity to the author identity, a combination of the Traditional Education discourse and Welfare Reform discourse was influencing that choice. In one case, the compliant student identity was taken up by a client who was negotiating to proceed with composing in the way he preferred.

There were occasions on which clients were able to successfully resist student positioning moves which might have interrupted their taking up of the author identity. In two instances, the tutor's advice about how to proceed with a writing project was refused. In making her claims about the efficacy of a procedure, the tutor took up the teacher identity.

Identities from the Family category, the sibling rival and the friendly sibling, interrupted and facilitated respectively the taking up of the author identity. In one instance, the taking up of the sibling rival identity interrupted the author identity for clients. Interestingly, the taking up and ascribing of the friendly sibling identity on the part of the tutor and one client, in this instance, facilitated the taking up of the sibling rival identity by another client. The other instance of a sibling identity impacting the author identity involved the taking up of the friendly sibling identity by a tutor and a client. The friendly sibling identity facilitated this client's taking up of the author identity.

Some Authors Workshop sessions were constituted of a rich mix of identities, speech acts, ideologies and discourses. The one that took place on 3/6/97 is a good example. In this kind of Workshop session, it's more difficult to see plainly what is facilitating and what is inhibiting the taking up of the author identity. Discourses referenced in the 3/6/97 session include the Therapeutic, Traditional Education, and Liberal Empowerment discourses. The Liberal Empowerment discourse was invoked both when I positioned clients as having valuable knowledge to share and when I positioned them as needing help and myself as doing something for them. The Therapeutic discourse manifested itself in the utterances where the local ideology, "solidarity is important," was voiced. The Traditional Education discourse was manifested when my superior reading, writing, and spelling skills became highlighted as I took up the scribe identity. Taking up the editor identity alone would perhaps have worked to sustain the author identity for clients, but to allow clients to compose orally--paper and pencil composing was difficult for some of them--I took up the scribe identity which probably worked at cross purposes to my intentions.

E. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed findings related to my three research questions. After an overview of the study, I discussed findings drawn from my thematic analysis of field notes and interview data. I explained my findings relating to the three categories of identities and to the discourses they represent. Following this explanation, I demonstrated how these identities were constructed in talk, by positioning moves shaped by cultural discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts. Although instances of the interaction between the author identity and identities from the School category were the most numerous, other identities both interfered with the taking up of the author identity and facilitated it.

There was no simple, consistent way in which the author identity was interrupted for every client participant; nor was there a simple, consistent way in which it was facilitated. ABE sessions and Authors Workshops were constituted of a mix of positioning moments so that the author identity was sustained for varying amounts of time. Although one participant took up and was ascribed the identity of author more frequently than other participants, that identity was interrupted for him, as it was for other participants, over the course of the study. That is, what the findings discussed in this chapter suggest is that, even with a somewhat limited set of identities interacting with the author identity, episodes of interactions were constituted of an often complex mix of positioning moves shaped by discourses, local ideologies and speech acts. The result was that participants each had varying experiences with becoming authors. The findings reported in this chapter dramatically demonstrate that, regardless of the amount of planning and of the good intentions that go into creating opportunities for literacy clients to become authors, it is not enough to make such a plan and implement it. To make it work, tutors and clients need to be aware of the forces that are impacting the implementation. Many forces and factors impact the plan as it plays out; this study brought to light the moment-by-moment interactions amongst clients and tutors, demonstrating the impact of discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts. When planning and implementing such a liberatory practice, insights into what happens, such as those reported in this chapter, have the potential to help a practitioner refine and revise the plan and more felicitously implement it.

In the next chapter, I summarize my findings. Then, I look closely at significant findings related to the interaction of identities and to the impact of discourses on the identities which became salient and interacted with each other. Finally, I consider the implications of the study for research and for practice. Specifically, I discuss the implications for research that involves study of liberatory practices as well as other research. I also discuss implications for classroom practices involving adult clients, including the use of personal narrative as a way to empower adult literacy clients.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

A. Overview

This study demonstrates that the conventional wisdom regarding the use of adult literacy client writing as a way to empower clients entails an overly sanguine and simplistic understanding of the practice. This widespread practice is assumed to be empowering by practitioners who, with good intentions, set up a writing component in their literacy programs and invite clients to participate (D'Annunzio, 1994; Stasz, 1991). The practice is presumed to be empowering by researchers as well (Griffin et al., 1993; Simons, 1992).

Framed by a feminist poststructuralist theoretical perspective and using ethnographic and sociolinguistic research methods, this study has explored what happens when adult literacy clients are invited to become authors. I collected and analyzed ethnographic data in the form of field notes and audiotaped classroom sessions and interviews on salient identities constructed over the course of the study. I then selected and microanalyzed transcripts of classroom talk where other salient identities interacted with the author identity.

In this chapter, I first discuss the findings of the study. Then I discuss the significance of the study for research and practice.

B. Discussion of the Findings: A Complex Picture

In this section, I begin by offering an overview of the findings. Then, I look more closely at the interaction of identities and the impact of discourses on them.

Since the literacy agency where the study was sited frequently published client writing, I thought it was important to understand how the construction of salient identities was affected by the way the agency thought about and facilitated client writing. I wanted to understand the local agency-level ideologies and practices that had an impact on the identities that became salient. Thematic analysis of interview transcripts revealed that what clients had to say in written and oral compositions was valued by both clients and tutors. The fact that the agency had a history of publishing client work underscored this finding. According to staff members, becoming authors could result in empowerment for clients in that it could lead to raising self-esteem. One reason cited was that clients were proud when other clients read what they had composed; another reason was that clients, by composing pieces for publication, fulfilled a desire for self-expression. In my interview with Sam Brown, he explained, however, that the empowerment clients might gain from becoming authors is limited: it was unlikely to lead to a client changing his or her life in signficant ways.

In spite of the agency's history of publishing and the desire of a good number of clients to compose and publish, according to the interviewees, tutors tended to resist engaging clients in writing. The fact that clients, themselves, were often reluctant to write was also cited in the interviews. One tutor said that "[tutors] are uncomfortable with it." Like some of the clients at the research site, clients alluded to in the interviews had difficulty with the physical act of writing. That is, the very forming of the letters on the page with pen or pencil was difficult for them. Also, it was noted in the interviews that clients equated correct spelling with good writing; and, when they do not, in their own eyes, spell well, they are reluctant to write. Tutors were taught to use the process writing method where they encouraged clients not to worry about misspellings because they would have a chance to go back later and correct them. Some tutors use writing as a way to teach the conventions of Standard Written English. Authorship as I define it in this study was not the goal of such tutors.

I asked the staff member I interviewed, Sam Brown, his definition of the term "author." He replied that it involves "[something] written or spoken that comes out of [clients'] minds and creativity." Like Sam, my co-tutor Caroline and other tutors I interviewed did not distinguish between written and oral composition. That is, they accepted the idea that a piece did not always have to be written in order to count as an authored piece.

These agency-level ideologies permeated the research site. For the most part, they were linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse which supports the belief in empowerment resulting from a person's feeling proud of and being valued for the valuable knowledge he or she has. With this discourse, minimal thought is given to other ideologies and discourses which could limit the empowering effect of becoming authors. The Traditional Education discourse is also visible in what the interviewees said about writing and spelling: clients equate writing well with spelling well and so do some tutors.

Another key set of findings had to do with the impact of identity-constructing interactions on client experiences as authors. I needed a method to discover and name the other identities that came into play at moments when clients were positioned as authors. I was also interested in the impact of discourses on the positioning that led to the ascription and taking up of the identities. My question became: What are the categories of salient identities constructed for and by study participants at the research site and what discourses do they represent? Because my theoretical framework suggests that identities are constantly made and remade in conversational interactions, I needed a question which would help me track this ongoing formation of identities. So I asked: When client participants position themselves and are positioned by others as authors, how is that positioning taken up? Which identities, constructed and maintained through talk, facilitate or interfere with the taking up of this identity?

In answer to the question about identities and discourses, analysis of field notes and audiotaped classroom session data revealed that fifteen identities which made up three categories, Authorship, School, and Family, became salient. These identities were shaped in large part by the following discourses which were reflected in my data: Traditional Education, Liberal Empowerment, Therapeutic, Welfare Reform, and Traditional Marriage and Family discourses. The fifteen identities interacted often to interrupt the taking up of the author identity but sometimes also to facilitate its taking up. I was prepared, to some extent, for the first and somewhat surprised by the second. In addition to the five discourses, local ideologies and speech acts also helped to inform positioning moves that led to the construction of the salient identities. Identities from both the School and the Authorship categories interacted frequently with one identity from the Authorship category, author. The Liberal Empowerment discourse, which one might assume would empower clients, did not do so to the extent anticipated. Another discourse, the Traditional Education discourse, did not, as anticipated, consistently interrupt the taking up of the author identity. Thus, the complexity of the picture of what happened when literacy clients were positioned as authors was a major finding of this study. The findings problematize a simplistic view of the salutory effects of using the practice of inviting adult literacy clients to be authors as a means of empowering them.

In the next two sections, I look closely at significant findings related to the interaction of identities and to the impact of discourses on the identities which became salient and interacted.

1. Interaction of Identities

The interaction of identities drawn from two categories, School and Authorship, did not result in a simplistic way in a lowering of status for clients. In a number of cases, the taking up of the author identity was interrupted by School identities. There were instances, however, of the taking up of the author identity being facilitated by identities from this category. So, as might be expected, the student identity did often interrupt the author identity, but this interruption was not always accomplished by tutors taking up the teacher identity. Clients sometimes chose the student identity over the author identity. For example, when Avianca and Jolene were given the choice of working on basic math and on reading words off the G.E.D. prep spelling word list or participating in an Authors Workshop, they selected the former. These activities are associated with the compliant student identity in that they represent school-based kinds of knowledge. So, sometimes the student identity was perceived as a preferable identity. Interestingly, one client used the identity of compliant student to facilitate his taking up of the author identity.

From the evidence presented in Chapter 4 and below, it seems that a skilled writer, i.e. one who could handwrite a piece easily, more readily took up the author identity. This is an example of an identity from the School category, skilled writer, facilitating the taking up of the author identity. Jolene was a more skilled writer than Avianca; the physical act came more easily to her and the fear of spelling errors did not deter her from taking up the author identity the way it did Avianca. During Authors Workshops, Charles usually preferred to compose using paper and pencil, a practice that came fairly easily to him. During the Authors Workshop on 1/30/97, he insisted on paper and pencil composing; he did not agree to my serving as scribe while he dictated his piece. Charles readily positioned himself as an author and was also readily positioned as an author by others. He also had the reputation among clients as a skilled writer. So, the Traditional Education discourse as manifested in a valorization of fluent, written composing was partly responsible for making the author identity available to Jolene and Charles. Charles was not as skilled a reader as Jolene and Avianca were. The unskilled reader identity, however, did not appear to interrupt the author identity for Charles while the identity of skilled reader might have facilitated Jolene's taking it up.

When the two sibling identities--friendly sibling and sibling rival--were taken up, they had different effects on clients' positioning as authors. The author identity for at least one client was facilitated by the tutor taking up the friendly sibling identity. The sibling rival identity interrupted the author identity for two clients: the sibling rival, herself, and the client with whom she was competing. For example, during an Authors Workshop when the discussion turned to the topic of welfare, Avianca competed with Jolene to show that she occupied a superior position within the Welfare Reform discourse; she emphasized in that discussion her view that people should earn what they want in life and not be dependent on the government.

There were several Authors Workshops where the interaction of identities was complex enough to prevent a definitive picture of how identities were interacting with the author identity. A good example is the session that occurred on 3/6/97, when I worked with clients on composing a letter to the editor of the local newspaper. As was often the case, my goal during this Authors Workshop session was to equalize the status between me and the participating clients. No sooner had I positioned them as authors, as having valuable knowledge to share, than I positioned myself as skilled reader and writer by taking up the scribe identity. I also positioned myself as knowing how to type and to use a computer for wordprocessing, skills the clients lacked. (I was entering text into the computer as it was orally generated by the clients.) By taking up the scribe identity, I unwittingly positioned the clients as unskilled readers and writers. Pronoun and preposition use in some utterances revealed that I explained my role as doing something beneficial "for" everyone. This dynamic compounded the inequity of status that emerged during this workshop session.

2. Findings Related To Discourses

Some very interesting findings related to the impact of discourses on the construction of salient identities emerged from my analysis. Here, again, there was complexity.

One such finding involves a discourse which frequently arose in the interactions at the research site, the Traditional Education discourse. I came to view some of our agency's beliefs and practices and client and tutor beliefs about education as associated with the Traditional Education discourse. One compelling finding about this discourse was the multiplicity of identities I discovered that were linked to it. Some of these identities were taken up by clients with the goal of increasing their status. While the hegemony of this discourse was noticeable when clients demonstrated their preference for some of the identities related to it, the discourse did not automatically undermine a client's sense of status. This sense of status accrued because these clients "bought into" the Traditional Education discourse. So, at the research site, clients gained a sense of status or the promise of status from identities linked to the Traditional Education discourse: "skilled reader," "skilled speller," and "skilled writer." Clearly, the Traditional Education discourse had a significant presence. This finding suggests a reason why clients may have felt they gained status by positioning themselves, or by being positioned as skilled in typical school-based ways. As noted in the previous section, Charles is an example of a participant who gained status from being a skilled writer. The identity of skilled writer--having a comfort level and fluency with actually forming the letters and words on paper--in fact facilitated Charles's frequent taking up of the author identity.

The resisting student identity was also one of those that comprised the School category; it was linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse. This identity sometimes facilitated the taking up of the author identity. An example of a client resisting the student identity, and thereby the positioning by the Traditional Education discourse, occurred when Avianca resisted my suggestion about how she should proceed with an authorship project. When I suggested a way to proceed, using the speech act "direct," I took up the teacher identity. Instead of accepting the reciprocal student positioning, Avianca claimed the author identity and simultaneously took up the resisting student identity, thus helping her to retain the author identity. Another significant aspect of this example is that I also positioned Avianca as needing help with the project, thus invoking the Liberal Empowerment discourse. Both Avianca and I ended up relinquishing that positioning when the Liberal Empowerment's other aspect, the promotion of client capability and competence, became manifest. This dual aspect of the Liberal Empowerment discourse was an important finding of the study. A tension related to status existed within that discourse in the way it played out at the research site. Some local ideologies that related to this discourse which I discovered at my site positioned clients as having valuable, valid knowledge, e.g., "client knows best," and therefore as peers of the tutors. Other local ideologies that were linked to this discourse, e.g., "clients need help," suggested a status for clients that was lower than that of the tutor. This lower status relates directly to positioning moves, linked to the Therapeutic discourse, that involved empathizing with and offering help to clients. The former local ideology relates directly to the use of the practice of inviting clients to be authors in order to empower them. So contrary to conventional thinking, the Liberal Empowerment discourse was not always a source of positive positioning. During the study, even as I positioned clients as authors, i.e., as having valuable knowledge to share with others, I also positioned them as needing empowerment. Thus, this tension within the Liberal Empowerment discourse was evident every time I positioned clients as authors.

A third compelling finding related to discourses manifested at my site emerged from my analysis. A discourse could have more of an impact on one client and less of one on another client. For example, Charles, who was in the process of seeking his green card, did not experience--because he was ineligible for welfare--being positioned infelicitously within the Welfare Reform discourse. Avianca and Jolene were so positioned. This differentiation may have influenced how readily Charles took up the author identity over the course of the study. One moment where the Welfare Reform discourse seemed to undermine or interrupt the taking up of the author identity for Avianca and Jolene occurred when the sibling rival identity was taken up during the Authors Workshop on 2/25/97. In that workshop, my attempts to position both clients as having valuable knowledge to share with welfare officials were undermined by Avianca's apparent need to compete with Jolene for a felicitous positioning within the Welfare Reform discourse.

Jolene was positioned as a student in the course of several Authors Workshops. Jolene also positioned herself as a student, thus demonstrating the especially strong pull on her of the Traditional Education discourse. The latter positioning was the result, in part, of the high value she gave to reading and writing at a high school level. Of the three primary participants, Jolene was the most caught up in repositioning herself more positively within the Traditional Education discourse. Being ascribed the identity of student and taking it up for herself interfered with her taking up the author identity.

Charles and Jolene participated frequently in Authors Workshops; Avianca, by contrast, participated in only a few Authors Workshops. Three identities other than the author identity worked to limit her experiences of becoming an author: unskilled speller, unskilled writer, and sibling rival. Skilled speller and skilled writer represent the Traditional Education discourse. This discourse thus positioned her more disadvantageously than it positioned Charles and Jolene. When Avianca did take up the author and oral composer identities, however, she did so forcefully. Other discourses which were especially powerful in their effects on Avianca were the Welfare Reform and Traditional Marriage and Family discourses. Over the course of the study, she was preoccupied with positioning herself favorably within these discourses.

Georgia and Charlene, clients from another tutoring group at the research site who participated occasionally in some of the Authors Workshops, did not always let their infelicitous positioning by the Traditional Education discourse interrupt their taking up of the author identity. Like Avianca, Georgia more than made up for a reluctance to compose by writing when she was composing orally. Infelicitous positioning within the Traditional Education disourse, e.g., as unskilled speller, reader, and writer, interfered at other times, however, with Georgia's taking up of the author position. This was less true for Charlene. Charlene professed an interest in authorship and participated without hesitation in writing pieces during a few Authors Workshops. During at least one Authors Workshop, both clients' taking up of the author identity was affected negatively by my own felicitous position within the Traditional Education discourse, i.e., as exhibiting the school-based skills of reading, writing, and spelling.

Yet another finding related to discourses involves the pull of certain identities on both client and tutor, even when not consistent with their intentions. Tension often occurred when an Authors Workshop involved more than one or two clients. I was the tutor who convened these larger group Authors Workshops. I was quite directive, taking up the teacher identity and invoking the Traditional Education discourse as I controlled the allocation of turns and using the speech act, "instruct."

C. Significance of My Study for Research and Practice

1. Research Considerations

Several implications for research emerge from this study of the "liberatory" practice of inviting clients to become authors. More research focused on adult literacy programs where practices supposed to be liberatory are employed is needed. There is scant research, for example, focused on what happens when adult literacy clients are invited to become authors. This dearth is surprising, given the widespread use of the practice in adult literacy settings.

a. Utility of a Feminist Poststructuralist Perspective

There are numerous studies and much theoretical writing pertaining to liberatory practices used in adult literacy education other than inviting clients to become authors. Only in a few cases, however, is feminist poststructuralist theory used to frame this literature. My study demonstrated that feminist poststructuralism provides a useful perspective for looking beyond a simplistic understanding of a liberatory practice. More specifically, feminist poststructuralism makes it mandatory to take into account the impact of discourses on classroom interactions. Also, feminist poststructuralists remind us of the multiple, constructed, and malleable quality of identity. This aspect of feminist poststructuralist theory invites the researcher to revisit theorizing about the importance for a literacy client of finding his or her "true voice" or self through writing.

Furthermore, far from being an arcane and impractical theory, feminist poststructuralism permits a researcher to see more clearly the complex mix of forces impacting on the use of the practice of inviting clients to become authors. A humanist perspective simply does not take enough of the forces at work in a classroom into account, discourses constituting one of these forces. The knowledge yielded by the theoretical perspective I used for my study may help the researcher convince practitioners of the wisdom of reviewing and revising other liberatory practices in addition to the practice I studied. So, what was discoverable as a result of using feminist poststructuralist theory to frame my study suggests the value of that theory when researching and thinking about pedagogical approaches deemed liberatory.

Feminist poststructuralist theory suggests that research take as its premise the possibility that pedagogical practices are unlikely to be universally successful or even successful across individuals in a single setting. More importantly, the theory tells the researcher that these practices are not neutral. Local ideologies and discourses inform them. They have a social force. They are potentially capable of influencing the status of those who participate in them.

Another aspect of the complexity that feminist poststructuralist theory illuminates is the contradictory and multiple nature, even over the course of one Authors Workshop, of participant positioning. Similarly, there were single utterances by which participants were positioned as having more than one identity. For example, there were a number of occasions of clients being positioned as students in the same moment that they were positioned as authors. A good example occurred during the opening utterances of an Authors Workshop on November 26, 1996 which involved a larger group than usual. By looking closely at conversational interactions using a feminist poststructuralist perspective, I discerned in a single utterance the taking up of a number of different and conflicting identities.

I also discovered in conversational interactions traces of discourses that related to practices at my research site including authorship, basic skills education, and support groups. The feminist poststructuralist concept of a discourse is particularly useful in this kind of research. The use of the concept of discourse enables the researcher to make the familiar strange, to achieve some distance from the conventional ways in which we as researchers may view phenomena. For example, conceiving of liberal efforts at empowerment as a discourse could help researchers, as it helped me, establish some distance from the assumptions, beliefs, and practices associated with such efforts. Another notable implication of using the concept of discourse for research involved becoming aware of how strong a pull discourses had on client and tutor alike. For example, during Authors Workshops, I intended to position clients as having valuable knowledge to share, i.e., as authors. Part of the intent was to attempt to equalize the status of client and tutor, the idea being that such parity would empower clients.

The Traditional Education discourse, however, intruded at times to exert its pull over me and the clients, with its built-in inequity, especially reflected in the teacher, compliant student, and the unskilled reader, speller, and writer identities. For example, once when I was working with Charles in an Authors Workshop, we discussed several times Charles's need for homework. He explained to me that he had to create his own homework. I took that to mean that his other tutor wasn't supplying him with homework and that, maybe, as a result, I needed to assign some homework. Homework is a school-based concept; I immediately invoked the Traditional Education discourse by assuring Charles I was willing to assign him homework. But the "homework" he had in mind was a project that an author might take up, one that involved offering written advice to a client in another tutoring group relating to one of her children. During the study, I often worried that I might be shortchanging the clients by not teaching them school-based literacy skills. In this instance, I did not deem Charles's writing project to be homework.

So my study, framed as it was by feminist poststructuralist theory, suggests that it is essential to take into account how conflicting and contradictory identities and discourses complicate the empowerment picture. Future studies of educational practices deemed to be liberatory can be similarly enhanced by the heuristic power of the feminist poststructuralist perspective.

The combination of this theoretical perspective and a sociolinguistic data analysis scheme offers a powerful heuristic for researching liberatory practices; this approach reveals a complex picture and is, at the same time, methodical and systematic. It was difficult to build a methodology using Davies and Harre's work (1990) because they do not show how their methodology works in an actual research project. I have, therefore, created a full-blown research methodology using several of their key concepts: positioning, identity, and discourse. This methodology can now be adapted by other researchers to study empowering practices in a diversity of educational and other settings. It can also be used to study conversational interactions which do not primarily relate to an empowering practice.

b. Offering a Rationale for Researching Liberatory Practices

Not only does this study offer an heuristically powerful approach to studying liberatory practices, it also provides a rationale for researching liberatory practices. If one can view a belief in the liberatory force of a practice as a value embodied in a discourse, it follows that a second look would be worthwhile. Discourses, even the Liberal Empowerment discourse, always limit the range of identities available. This understanding should prompt researchers to look at the playing out of a liberatory practice to see how it is informed by the beliefs embodied in a discourse. Once viewed as a discourse, a congregation of such beliefs may not be viewed as something natural and commonsensical but instead as something constructed and therefore as something malleable.

c. Study's Capacity to Extend Several Research Strands

This study builds on and extends three kinds of literature: studies of adult literacy clients as authors; studies and theory related to empowerment using practices other than client authorship; and studies and theory focusing on literacy framed by feminist poststructuralist theory. I will first discuss how this study builds on a key study pertaining to using authorship as an empowering practice. Then I will discuss how my study builds on and develops thinking in the field of adult literacy about empowerment from a non-feminist poststructuralist theoretical perspective. Finally, I will demonstrate how the study elaborates on studies and theoretical writing in the field that use a feminist poststructuralist perspective.

i. Extending the research bearing on clients as authors. Gillespie's (1991) is one study which focused in depth on the social experiences of literacy clients invited to become authors. She was curious about how clients might change as a result of becoming authors. She discovered that some of the clients she interviewed gained self-esteem, especially when they published their work and discussed it with other clients who had read the work. These clients felt knowledgeable and believed they had expertise to share with others. My study builds on hers in two important ways: my definition of author--a person with valuable knowledge to share worth reading by others--derives, in large part, from her study. And her study motivated me to look more closely at what happens when adult literacy clients, similar to those who participated in her study, are given an opportunity to become authors.

A feminist poststructuralist perspective would suggest that the clients' self-report of a gain in self-esteem when given the chance to write and publish their work is, itself, impacted by forces beyond the individual. That is, such self-reports do not constitute the whole story. Thus, my goal was to take into consideration factors not considered in Gillespie's study that I sensed might have a significant impact on what happens when clients were positioned as authors. Two of these factors were the other identities a client might take up or have ascribed to him or her and the impact of the larger culture on what happened at the specific research site. Both of these factors become visible when feminist poststructuralist theory is used. Gillespie laid the groundwork for this study; I extended her study by suggesting the essential importance of revisiting the practice of literacy clients becoming authors and providing the tools for such a revisiting.

The foregoing does not in any way detract from the usefulness of Gillespie's study. The reconceptualization of the practice is usefully informed by her study because of the care with which she located the practice in social contexts. The practice made a bigger difference in the lives of some participants than it did other participants' lives. It would be revealing to consult Gillespie's study with an eye to identifying the social contexts that made the practice so important to some clients, while simultaneously keeping the impact of discourses on these social contexts in mind.

ii. Research on libertory practices other than writing. My particular research interest is in attempts by adult literacy practitioners and researchers to deal with issues of status and equity, e.g., of empowerment. This study adds significantly to a still quite small body of literature which addresses such issues.

Hull (1993) and Fingeret (1991) both suggested that while a program or a pedagogical approach might show promise in the educational or workplace context, what happens to adult literacy clients in the outside world must be taken into account in judging the success of pedagogies intended to be empowering. Furthermore, critics (Mitchell, 1994) and supporters (Rivera, 1990) of Freire's pedagogy suggest that the local context in which one uses the pedagogy makes a difference in how it plays out. Freire, himself, recognized the importance of context. This study extends the researcher's capacity to attend to the impact of the local context by including in the concept of context local ideologies and speech acts, which are often linked to discourses circulating in the larger culture. The study thus offers a way to track more adequately the empowerment and disempowerment of individuals in a given context.

This study also builds on and extends other studies of liberatory practices used in adult literacy settings that draw on poststructuralist and feminist poststructuralist theory. Both the theoretical perspective, feminist postructuralism, and the methodology I use--analyzing conversational interactions--have significance for research that concerns itself with or is related to the empowerment of adult literacy clients. As I indicated in Chapter 2, a few studies and some theoretical literature do exist relating to adult education and adult literacy that employ poststructuralist and feminist poststructuralist perspectives.

A study carried out by Campbell (1994) using a feminist poststructuralist theoretical perspective revisited efforts to democratize the governance of several literacy programs in Canada. One of the implications of her study was a call for literacy workers to explore their social identity in relation to that of the students. This study supports and builds on this implication by showing a way to research empowering practices that takes into account probable power differentials between clients and tutors, many of whom are affected by the ways discourses position them.

Pietrykowski's critique of Mezirow's transformational pedagogy, framed by postmodernist theory, is based, in part, on Mezirow's claim that it has universal applicability. Pietrykowski (1998) suggests that Mezirow's transformational pedagogy arises out of a particular social context and depends not upon a universal but upon a particular way of viewing empowerment. Like Pietrykowski's work, my study assumes that no pedagogical practice is universally empowering. In addition, this study offers a method for conceiving of and tracking forces at work in the local context that empower and disempower literacy clients. I took into account the context, including how people in that context came to interact. I also took into account the fact that the local context was embedded in a larger cultural context, including how clients and tutors were differently positioned by discourses circulating in the cultural context.

d. Studies That Could Make Up for the Limitations of This Study

There are several kinds of research studies that could be conducted to address the limitations of my study. My theoretical framework and method should be extended to study the empowerment of and the construction of identities for adult literacy clients beyond the classroom. Second, it would be useful to carry out a similar study where clients of literacy programs who have more stable lives and have a higher level of basic skills are given opportunities to be authors. Yet another useful follow-up study might be of a community project where clients engage in a research and publication project on a community issue about which they feel knowledgeable. To downplay the division between the tutors and the clients around school-based literacy skills --reading, writing, and word processing--participants in this community project should probably be sufficiently skilled to rely mostly on themselves rather than on tutors for technical help. The clients in my study were not sufficiently skilled to do that. Peck, Flower, and Higgins (1994) set up and studied a community literacy project. In their study, however, they did not review their project using a critical perspective. Should a community-oriented literacy project that downplays the division between tutors and clients around school-based skills be undertaken, it should, in any case, be studied using a critical perspective. Positive outcomes can not be taken for granted.

2. Implications for Practice

The findings drawn from this study have several implications for practice, implications both for classroom practices and for training of literacy tutors and teachers. Specifically this study of the practice of inviting literacy clients to become authors has implications for practitioners. This study enables them to take up the practice with some provisos in mind and to modify the use of the practice. Reflecting on practice, using the findings of this study to ground such reflections, might also help adult literacy programs retain clients. That is, tutors and clients could use these findings to address inequities in power as well as tutors' potential misconceptions of what clients desire to learn.

a. Keep Skilled Writer and Author Identities Separate

One finding of my study which has implications for practice is that the skilled writer and speller identities can facilitate the taking up of the author identity. Practitioners interested in encouraging client authorship in a school-based program--as contrasted with a community-based literacy program--should take these findings into account.

They should, at the same time, continue to distinguish the author identity from the skilled writer and speller identities which, in this study, do not belong to the Authorship category. Taking this approach would require the tutors or teachers to understand that the primary goal is not the technical improvement of writing; rather, the goal is the fostering of authorship. That is, the goal is to promote the value of sharing client knowledge with others. Help for the clients with the technical aspects of writing should be available but treated as merely technical and having little to do with the value of what the clients have to share, through composing, with others.

b. Locate the Practice of Authorship Outside School Contexts

Given the significant impact of the identities in the School category and of the Traditional Education discourse on the attempts in my research setting to take up and ascribe the author identity, it might be useful to relocate the practice of client authorship to a non-school site. On several occasions, clients demonstrated the belief that they did have valuable knowledge and at times were motivated to share it with an audience. Even Jolene, who saw more to be gained from ascribing to herself the student identity, proffered valuable knowledge about several topics, among them how the welfare system worked and why she had trouble with a phonics approach to learning to read and write. Clients' belief in the value of their own knowledge suggests that positioning them as authors might go even further if it occurred away from a formal school setting. Armed with the self-awareness that we are all apt to be impacted by discourses that work against this author positioning should help to enhance the effect of the practice. Adult literacy clients, like those who participated in Peck, Flower, and Higgins's study (1994), could implement a community project which, drawing on practitioners' school-based knowledge when necessary, would address an issue of great import to clients. The project would offer clients a chance to author recommendations or personal experiences related to the issue. The collaborative nature of such an undertaking would draw on the various strengths of the clients; as a truly communal effort, a tutor or a staff member would not in an artificial way be forcing "communality" on the group. Removing the project from a school environment and taking up community or other issues of great concern to clients might result in a more favorable positioning for clients vis à vis the Traditional Education Discourse as they improve their school-based literacy skills and expertise.

c. Discovery of Conflict in the Tutoring Group "Family"

Another finding with implications for practice involved the discovery of conflict among participants, even though they claimed that our small group was like a supportive family. At times, clients were less than supportive of each other and at times appeared to be competing for tutor favor. So in a setting where a "family feeling" among clients and tutors in a classroom was touted, all was not necessarily harmonious. A close look at the interactions at my research site revealed fault lines in this supposedly supportive group environment. Such conflicts among literacy clients in a tutoring group undermined, at times, the author identity. In part, this undermining was the consequence of the invoking of certain discourses during conversational interactions. For example, when Avianca was describing her experiences of being on welfare, she invoked the Welfare Reform discourse and situated herself positively within it. She claimed that people should earn what they need and that welfare recipients should not squander the welfare income intended to help them raise their children. A plausible explanation is that Avianca was competing with Jolene for my attention during our conversation. This rivalry led to a competition between them, as each one bid for the floor. Such conflicts may not be all bad; if made explicit, they might provide an opening for a candid sharing of responses to group conflict. If made explicit, they could also contribute to the developing of a critique which could lead to a better sense of solidarity among members of the group. The critique could be framed by a feminist poststructuralist perspective with the intention of producing an understanding of how both clients and tutors are caught up in discourses that can trigger conflict among group members.

d. Identities and Discourse Framework Useful for Tutor Awareness and Training

The approach I used for this study--viewing clients and tutors as taking up and ascribing a range of identities to each other, many of which are made available by discourses--may be useful to practitioners-in-training as well as to experienced practitioners. The methodology I employed suggests an approach that reflective practitioners could use to think about the social life in their classrooms. Such reflections might lead to fresh thinking about such issues as the retention of clients in literacy programs and/or may lead to greater rentention. So, my study explores how to improve adult literacy education by suggesting the limitations and possibilities of a pedagogical practice. It also demonstrates an effective way for practitioners to "read" the response of clients to the social life in which they are enmeshed, as they work to improve their reading and writing skills and perhaps to compose work the literacy program will publish.

A related implication of the study for practice is that it draws attention to and has the power to increase awareness of how practitioners and clients are positioned by discourses. Tutors and clients are not likely to be aware of their entanglement in discourses and how it hampers attempts to empower clients. Awareness might lead practitioners to interact differently with clients and might help them develop a pedagogy which involves tutors and clients in an exploration of how both are positioned by discourses. Tutors and clients alike were held back by some discourses--often unknowingly--from actualizing their intentions. Feminist poststructuralist theory suggests the need to make explicit any discourses that may be driving practitioners, so that practitioners can become alert to positioning moves that they commit unconsciously. Such positioning occurs largely unconsciously because the discourses that cause us to behave in the ways we do are likely to be invisible to us.

For example, if a practitioner is "discoursed" into believing that practices linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse are empowering, this study helps to reveal some of the pitfalls of being positioned within this discourse. In my case, by conceptualizing my habitual teaching practices as linked to the Liberal Empowerment discourse, I've been able to step back from these practice. This stepping back has helped me to understand that this discourse, in some of its aspects, may actually prevent empowerment. I was also able to see that the Traditional Education discourse was driving some of my teaching practices. These kinds of realizations could lead practitioners to rethink tutor or teacher training. There might be a way to work into the training of tutors a teacher research component, using a modified version of my microanalysis scheme, which could provide tutors and teachers with greater awareness that their beliefs, like mine, are beliefs--not "givens." A tutor may come to understand how these beliefs or ideologies might work at cross purposes with client beliefs and knowledge. Client beliefs would also become visible if monitored using a modified version of my microanalysis scheme.

e. Reenvisioning Self-Esteem

Levels of self-esteem often play a significant role in shaping the social life or social interactions of the adult literacy classroom (Robishaw, 1996). It is therefore helpful to have a way to view clients' self-esteem and sense of status in ways that could lead to the social construction of self-efficacy and status. The concept of positioning has built into it an awareness of status and sense of equity among clients and between clients and tutors. Status and equity are linked to self-esteem. This study usefully suggests the complexities of the development of a sense of self-esteem for literacy clients and how we, as tutors, unwittingly can contribute to the construction of a lack of self-esteem. Also, an approach that suggests that self-esteem is socially constructed opens up the possibility of reconstructing/raising that self-esteem.

f. Insights Useful in Kindergarten-College Classrooms

The method I use to view literacy clients' social life could be extended as well to viewing the social life of students in K-college classrooms. Teachers, and perhaps students, could use the concepts, identities and discourses, to enrich their view of the learning environment in their classrooms. This method asks the tutor or teacher to see herself and her students as caught up in culture-wide discourses which are "delivered" to the classroom via discourse-related ideologies and speech acts, all of which are present in classroom talk. Depending on the appropriateness of the practice in a given (local) classroom setting, once the "discoursed" aspect of behaviors and beliefs is apprehended and discussed, teachers and their students can work on ways to resist certain of the discourses that infelicitously position students. Teachers also would have a better sense of how to reposition themselves and to use practices to more felicitously position students.

g. A Second Look at Personal Narrative

One of the implications of this study for practice is that it suggests a re-envisioning of autobiographical or personal narrative as an empowering genre for adult literacy clients to use. Personal narrating as a practice to help learners find their voices and make them heard is a frequent aspect of the practice of inviting clients to become authors in adult literacy programs. Clients in this study when engaged in authoring usually chose to compose personal narrative. This phenomenon was not surprising. At the level of everyday experience, people who come from groups traditionally marginalized and silenced find that telling their own stories is a powerful way to claim their place in the world and in history. Extensive anecdotal evidence suggests that oral personal testimony and autobiographical kinds of writing are powerful means of self-expression. Much of this evidence involves women (e.g., Heller, 1994) and African-American (e.g., Cothern and Lyman, 1993) and African-Caribbean students (e.g., Schwab, 1994).

My study has not denied the value of personal narrating as an empowering genre for adult literacy clients, but it does suggest that reconceiving this genre in light of feminist poststructuralist theory would greatly enhance it. For one thing, personal narrating is thought to be empowering for a person because it offers a chance to tell one's own unique story. Autobiographical pieces, however, are never completely unique (hooks, 1989; Steedman, 1992). They reflect our ties to the cultures we grew up in and tell the story of these cultures as much as they tell the stories of lives lived in these cultures.

Literature related to personal narrative sheds light on the practice of inviting literacy clients to become authors and suggests ways that personal narrating might be reconceived. When reconceived, its power is enhanced. Feminist poststructuralist theory, as it concerns agency and empowerment, has also been applied to the genre of personal storying. If a person has multiple identities or subject positions, then the writing "I" of personal narrative is not a unified, univocal, and autonomous narrator. Instead, the narrative will be infused with multiple voices. Searching for one's "true" individual voice is impossible (Gilbert, 1991). Furthermore, feminist poststructuralists would claim that both the act of the telling and the story itself will vary from context to context (Weedon, 1987, 123). Attention to the playing out of such tellings at the local level is of paramount importance. Weedon agrees with Foucault (1977) who advised that we concern ourselves with power on the local level, "in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions" (p. 96). This view of power implies that the more satisfactory position the teller gains via one telling of his or her story may not endure across settings. Consequently, the empowerment that derives from a repositioning of oneself through personal narrating will always be in flux and must continually be negotiated (Davies, 1990, 1993).

Other feminists interested in the power of personal storying, and guided by a poststructuralist vision of "the author," see a value for this practice if it is reconceived (Gilbert,1994; Jonsberg, 1992). Of the few studies of personal narrating framed by feminist poststructuralist theory which I reviewed for this dissertation, Jonsberg's stands out as an especially useful reformulation of personal narrating as a practice. Jonsberg suggests the value of using this practice while remaining aware that the self composed when engaged in such a practice is multi-faceted and controlled to an extent by dominant discourses. She was working with teenaged mothers. Both the program where her research took place and the study itself "urged critical examination of the heterosexual imperative which appears central in young women's lives" (p. i). Jonsberg asserts as one of her findings, "Personal writing is a particularly effective site for trying out discourse positions which realign power dynamics in women's lives" (pp. i-ii). The idea that one can re-present oneself through autobiographical accounts has also gained currency. While Brodkey (1996) doesn't directly advise the use of personal narrative as a way of repositioning oneself, she suggests that re-representation is key. Jonsberg and Brodkey offer insights which could help practitioners to reconceive the use of personal narrative. This study offers one warrant for such a reconceptualization. For one thing, client authorship might be fruitfully undertaken using autobiographical writing/autobiographical oral composing while working the concept of an autobiographical self--the concept that the writing "I" is not a unified and static phenomenon--into the practice.

A recent discussion about critical autobiography writing as a practice in classrooms is also relevant here (Brisk, 1996; Benesch, 1993). Brisk's formulation of critical autobiography as a pedagogical practice includes, as one of its key aspects, the location of the autobiographical narrator in a matrix of social, economic, political, and cultural factors. Linguistic background and a person's background knowledge also help to situate the narratives. Students read other people's autobiographical narratives, including those by published authors, and write their own. Students look at their lives with an eye to bringing about changes such as not holding themselves responsible for failings but rather understanding the "me in the society."

Benesch (1993), also speaking about students for whom English is a second language, describes a critical autobiography project for an ESL college composition course. Students engage in a sustained, semester-long project where they explore a central theme such as work or development and change in adolescence. They read and write, while drawing on their own personal experiences in such a way that they locate their experiences in social contexts. Benesch writes, "Students consider in reading, writing, and speaking the social forces affecting them" (p. 248). Like Brisk's students, the students in Benesch's composition class come to see "[t]he problems of living in a new culture as the result of social factors rather than personal shortcomings" (p. 249).

hooks (1989) and McLaren (1993) also suggest that we need not give up use of autobiographical narrative completely as a way to find one's voice and to be heard by others. We need, instead, to transform it by understanding the community and cultural narratives which frame and inform our personal storying.

Clients of literacy programs might well benefit from being encouraged in their autobiographical writings and oral histories to connect their experiences to those of others whose stories are told to them or read by them. Also, like Jonsberg's students, adult literacy clients could use personal narrative to try out different subject positions or identities. Like Brodkey's, Brisk's, and Benesch's students, clients might find they can re-represent themselves in their own life stories as holding more favorable positions vis à vis discourses that position them unfavorably. As hooks and McLaren imply, adult literacy clients could share personal narratives and discuss common elements or motifs in these narratives. Then, they could discuss these common motifs with the goal of creating a sense of greater solidarity and group empowerment. This combination of group awareness and solidarity can help the members of such a group attain a stronger platform from which to try and make changes in members' lives. In working on these changes, however, commonality will not automatically create group harmony, as I have explained in the discussion of this study's findings.

An awareness of the potential conflict and the facing of this conflict head-on could help ameliorate the chances of changes being made. In any case, the degree of agency of such a group will be circumscribed but never absolutely so.

3. Coda

What I have learned from this study about empowerment in the classroom will have an impact on my practice and on my future research. When I began this study, I believed that authorship had the potential to increase a literacy client's self-esteem and sense of status. I no longer talk in such terms. I still believe it has some capacity to empower, but it must be reconceived with a feminist poststructuralist perspective in mind. I am aware, having carried out this study, of all of the other dynamics in the social life of a small tutoring group of literacy clients. These dynamics include the taking up or being ascribed other identities that can both interrupt and facilitate the client's taking up of the author identity and the impact of discourses. Clients and tutors can't prevent discourses from positioning them but they can use an awareness of being discoursed to resist being positioned infelicitously. Clients and tutors have more influence over local ideologies, if the beliefs that constitute them are conceived of as local ideologies. Vigilance with regard to the effects of discourses, local ideologies, and speech acts on efforts to empower literacy clients will help to sharpen our acumen as researchers and will help practitioners to introduce, and more effectively guide the playing out of, liberatory pedagogies.

APPENDIX A

MICROANALYSIS CHARTS, FORMATS #1 AND #2

Figure 1 AW 1/9/97

Line	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	XXX	18	19	20	21
SPEAKER																
Client	J			C		C		C		C				C		C
Tutor		S	S		S		S		S		S		S		S	
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*			*		*		*		*				*		*
Editor			*		*		*		*		*				*	
Scribe		*											*			
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher															*	
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client		J	C		C				C		C		C		C	
Tutor	S			S		S		S		S				S		S
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author		*	*		*		*		*		*		*		*	
Editor	*			*		*		*		*						
Scribe																*
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-		+														
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Figure 2 AW 1/9/97

Line	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684
SPEAKER																		
Client		J		J		J		J		J		J		J		J		J
Tutor	S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S	
IDENTITIES																		
AUTHORSHIP																		
Author												*		*		*		
Editor									*	*								
Scribe					*						*		*					
Oral comp																		
SCHOOL																		
Teacher	*		*		*		*		*				*					
Student +/-		+		+		+		+		+		+				+		
Reader +/-																		
Speller +/-																		
Writer +/-																		
FAMILY																		
Sibling +/-																		
ADDRESSEE																		
Client	J		J		J		J		J		J		J		J			
Tutor		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		
IDENTITIES																	J	
AUTHORSHIP																		S
Author					*				*		*		*		*			
Editor																		
Scribe																	*	
Oral comp																		
SCHOOL																		
Teacher		*		*		*		*		*								
Student +/-	+		+		+		+		+									
Reader +/-																		
Speller +/-																		
Writer +/-																		
FAMILY																		
Sibling +/-																		

Table 1 AW 1/9/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
5	request info	Liberal emp., Traditional Educ.	authors use standard English
6	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	client knows best
7	request info	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best, clients can choose
8	commit	Liberal Empowerment	clients can make plans
9	request info	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
10	inform	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
11	offer help	Liberal Empowerment	clients need help
12			
13	inform	Liberal Empowerment	clients own and control their work
14	hedge	Liberal Empowerment	clients own and control their work
15	inform	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
XXX			
18	inform	Traditional Education	tutors can use computer
19	disagree	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
20	offer	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	tutors can make plans
21			
XXX			
667	agree, offer help	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients now best, clients need help
668	request help	Traditional Education	clients can choose
669	offer help	Liberal Empowerment	clients need help
670			
671	affirm, promise	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
672	command	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
673	agree	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
674			
675	agree, inform	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best, tutors know best
676	inform	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best, authors use Standard English
677	affirm	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
678	inform	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
679	agree	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
680	inform	Traditional Education	bad spelling makes one look ignorant
681	agree, affirm	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	bad spelling makes one look ignorant
682	explain	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best

Figure 3 AW 1/30/97

Line	177	178	179	180	181	182	XXX	194	XXX	232	233	234	235	XXX
SPEAKER														
Client	C		C		C					C		C		
Tutor		S		S		S		S			S		S	
IDENTITIES														
AUTHORSHIP														
Author	*		*		*					*		*		
Editor		*		*		*		*			*		*	
Scribe														
Oral comp														
SCHOOL														
Teacher								*					*	
Student +/-														
Reader +/-														
Speller +/-														
Writer +/-														
FAMILY														
Sibling +/-														
ADDRESSEE														
Client		C		C		C					C		C	
Tutor	S		S		S			C		S		S		
IDENTITIES														
AUTHORSHIP														
Author		*		*		*		*			*		*	
Editor	*		*		*					*		*		
Scribe														
Oral comp														
SCHOOL														
Teacher														
Student +/-								+					+	
Reader +/-														
Speller +/-														
Writer +/-														
FAMILY														
Sibling +/-														

Table 2 AW 1/30/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
177	commit	Liberal Empowerment	clients can make plans
178	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
179	inform	Liberal Empowerment	authors can alter facts, clients know best
180	affirm		
181	explain	Liberal Empowerment	authors can alter facts
182	confirm	Liberal Empowerment	authors can alter facts
XXX			
194	advise, instruct	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	authors can alter facts, tutor knows best
XXX			
232	commit	Liberal Empowerment	clients can make plans
233			
234	commit	Liberal Empowerment	clients can make plans
235	affirm	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients know best, tutors can OK plans
XXX			

Figure 4 AW 4/10/97

Line	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
SPEAKER																
Client	Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo	
Tutor		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor		*														
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher		*		*		*		*		*		*		*		*
Student +/-	-		+		-		-		-		+		+		+	
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+		+	-/+
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo
Tutor	Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac	
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author		*														
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*		*		*		*		*		*		*		*	
Student +/-		-		+		-		-		-		-		-		-
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-		-		+	+	-	+	-	+	-		-		-		
Writer +/-																-
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Figure 5 AW 4/10/97

Line	30	31	32	33	XXX	43	44	45	46	47	48	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client	Jo		Jo			Jo		Jo		Jo						
Tutor		Jac		Jac			Jac		Jac		Jac					
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*		*			*										
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher		*		*			*		*		*					
Student +/-						-		-		+						
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-						-		-		+						
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client		Jo		Jo												
Tutor	Jac		Jac			Jac		Jac		Jac						
IDENTITIES							Jo		Jo		Jo					
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor	*		*			*										
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher								*		*						
Student +/-		-		-			-		-		+					
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-		-		-			-		-							
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Table 3 AW 4/10/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
12	request help	Liberal Empowerment	clients can ask for a spelling word
13	instruct	Traditional Education	learning to spell is more important than content
14	inform	Traditional Education	
15	instruct	Traditional Education	tutors know best
16	ask question	Traditional Education	tutors know best
17	instruct	Traditional Education	tutors know best
18	answer question	Traditional Education	tutors know best
19	instruct	Traditional Education	tutors know best
20	ask question	Traditional Education	tutors know best
21	instruct	Traditional Education	tutors know best
22	answer question	Tradtional Education	tutors know best
23	doesn't affirm	Traditional Education	tutors know best
24	answer question	Traditional Education	tutors know best
25	hedge	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can acknowledge uncertainty
26	answer question	Traditional Education	tutors know best
27	hedge	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can acknowledge uncertainty
XXX			
30	claim	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
31	reassure	Trad. Education, Therapeutic	tutors know best
32	claim	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
33	reassure	Trad. Education, Therapeutic	tutors know best
XXX			
43	request help	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	authors use Stand. Eng., clients can choose
44	ask question		
45	answer question	Traditional Education	
46	instruct	Traditional Education	tutors know best
47	answer question	Traditional Education	clients know best
48	praise	Traditional Education	tutors can praise clients
XXX			
XXX			
XXX			
XXX			
XXX			
XXX			

Figure 6 AW 11/26/96

Line	21	XXX	26	XXX	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
SPEAKER																
Client						C	A	C		A	C		C		C	
Tutor	S		S		S				S			S		S		S
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor			*													
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*		*		*				*	*		*		*		*
Student +/-								+			-					
Reader +/-						+	+					+	-	+	-	
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client	all		all		C	all	C		C	C	A	C		C		E
Tutor						S		S					S		S	
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor			*													
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-	+							*			*		*		*	
Reader +/-			+		+				+	-		-		-		+
Speller +/-							-					-	+	-	+	+
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Table 4 AW 11/26/96

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
21	instruct	Traditional Education	tutors know best
XXX			
26	invite, instruct	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	tutors know best
XXX			
37	direct	Traditional Education	tutors control turns
38	reads	Traditional Education	
39	provide word	Traditional Education	clients can help each other
40	read/ask quest.	Traditional Education	tutors control turns
41	answer question	Traditional Education	
42	direct	Traditional Education	clients can help each other
43	apologize	Traditional Education	
44	provide word	Traditional Education	tutors can help clients read
45	reads	Traditional Education	
46	provide word	Traditional Education	tutors can help clients read
47	request word	Traditional Education	
48	direct	Traditional Education	tutors control turns

Figure 7 ABE 1/30/97

Line	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	XXX	20	21	23	XXX	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client		Jo		Jo			A		A							
Tutor	S		S		S	S		S			S	C	S			
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author									*							
Editor						*					*					
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*		*		*	*		*			*	*	*			
Student +/-				+			+		+							
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client					Jo	A		A			A	A	A			
Tutor							S		S							
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*					*					*					
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher				*			*		*							
Student +/-	+		+		+	+		+			+	+	+			
Reader +/-	+					+										
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Figure 8 ABE 1/30/97

Line	63	64	65	66	67	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client																
Tutor	S		S		S											
IDENTITIES		Jo		Jo												
AUTHORSHIP																
Author				*												
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*		*		*											
Student +/-		+														
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client	A		Jo		Jo											
Tutor		S		S												
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author					*											
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher		*		*												
Student +/-	+		+													
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Table 5 ABE 1/30/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
9	ask question	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose, clients know best
10			
11	inform	Traditional Education	tutors know best
12	suggest	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients can inititate plans
13	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
14	ask question	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
15	decline	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients can choose, tutors know best
16	permit	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
17	decline	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
XXX			
20	inform		
21	permit	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients can choose
22	accept choice	Traditional Education	school-based knowledge is valuable
23	affirm	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients can choose
XXX			
63	justify	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients can choose
64	accept choice	Traditional Education	school-based knowledge is valuable
65	justify	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients can choose
66	justify		
67	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best

Figure 9 AW 2/20/97

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	XXX	14	15	16	17	18	19	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client		C		C		C			C		C		C			
Tutor	S		S		S		S			S		S		S		
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author				*		*										
Editor					*		*									
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*		*						*	*		*		*		
Student +/-		+									+		+			
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client	C		C		C		C			C		C		C		
Tutor		S		S		S			S		S		S			
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author					*		*									
Editor				*		*										
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher		*							*		*		*			
Student +/-	+		+							+		+		+		
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Figure 10 AW 2/20/97

Line	20	XXX	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client	C		C		C		C		C		C					
Tutor				S		S		S		S						
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*		*		*		*		*		*					
Editor				*		*				*						
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher										*						
Student +/-											+					
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client				C		C		C		C						
Tutor	S		S		S		S		S		S					
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author				*		*		*		*						
Editor	*		*		*		*		*		*					
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher											*					
Student +/-										+						
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Figure 11 AW 2/20/97

Line	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	XXX	57	58	59	60	61	62	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client		C		C		C				C		C		C		
Tutor	S		S		S		S		S		S		S			
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author				*		*						*		*		
Editor					*		*						*			
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*		*						*		*					
Student +/-		+		+						+						
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client	C		C		C		C		C		C		C			
Tutor		S		S		S				S		S		S		
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author					*		*						*			
Editor				*		*						*		*		
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher		*		*						*						
Student +/-	+		+						+		+					
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Table 6 AW 2/20/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
1	ask question	Traditional Education	tutors can initiate plans
2	inform		
3	inform	Traditional Education	tutors know best
4	ask question		
5	commit	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can acknowledge error
6	inform	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best, clients can initiate plan
7	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can affirm plans, clients can choose
XXX			
14	answer question	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
15	ask question	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	tutors can initiate plans, clients can choose
16	accept choice	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose
17	advise	Traditional Education	
18	accept advice	Traditional Education	
19	advise	Traditional Education	tutors can advise clients
20	explain	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
XXX			
28	justify	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can advise clients, clients can initiate plans
29	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose, clients can initiate plans
30	confirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose, clients can initiate plans
31	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	
32	inform	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
33	confirm	Liberal Empowerment	
34	inform	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
35	confirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
36	commit	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can initiate plans
XXX			
43	offer choice	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose, tutors can initiate plans
44	accept choice	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose
45	offer choice	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose, tutors can initiate plans
46	inform, accept	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can initiate plans
47	confirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
48	request	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
49	agree	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
XXX			

Table 7 AW 2/20/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
57	direct	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose, tutors can initiate plans
58	agree	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose
59	inform, justify	Traditional Education	
60	request, direct	Liberal Empowerment	clients can ask for help, clients can initiate plans
61	agree, commit	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans, clients know best
62	request, direct	Liberal Empowerment	clients can ask for help, clients can initiate plans
XXX			

Figure 12 ABE 2/11/97

Line	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	XXX	77	78	79	80	81	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client	A	A	Jo	A	Jo		A	A				A		A		
Tutor						S				S	S		S			
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*			*			*	*				*		*		
Editor			*			*							*			
Scribe										*	*					
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher						*					*					
Student +/-							-	+				-				
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-		+			+			+								
ADDRESSEE																
Client	all	Jo	A	All	A	A	All	All		A	A	All	A	All		
Tutor	S			S			S	All	C			All		All		
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author			*			*					*		*			
Editor																
Scribe										*						
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher								*								
Student +/-						*					+					
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-		+	+		+			+								

Table 8 ABE 2/11/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
61	praise self	Liberal Empowerment	clients can praise self
62	allocate turn	Liberal Empowerment	clients can allocate turns, clients can interrupt
63	praise self	Trad. Marriage and Family	client can praise self
64	suggest, hedge	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
65			
66	exclaim, direct	Traditional Education	tutors can initiate plans
67	exclaim, justify	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
68	claim, praise	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients know best, clients can praise tutors
XXX			
77	suggest	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can xerox, tutors can xerox
78	suggest	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can initiate plans
79	commit, claim	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
80	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
81	commit, claim	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
XXX			

Figure 14 AW 1/16/97

Line	61	62	63	64	65	XXX	73	74	75	76	XXX	84	85	XXX	89	90
SPEAKER																
Client		A		A				A		A		A				A
Tutor	S		S		S		S		S				S		S	
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author		*		*				*		*		*				*
Editor	*		*						*				*		*	
Scribe	*		*		*				*							
Oral comp		*		*				*		*						*
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*		*				*		*						*	
Student +/-		-						+		-						
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client	A		A		A		A		A				A		A	
Tutor		S		S				S		S		S				
IDENTITIES																S
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*		*		*				*				*		*	
Editor												*				
Scribe				*				*		*						
Oral comp	*		*		*											*
SCHOOL																
Teacher		*														
Student +/-	+		+		+		+		+						+	
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Table 9 AW 1/16/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
61	direct	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	tutors can initiate plans
62	question		
63	suggest, hedge	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can initiate plans, clients can choose
64	agree	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
65	agree	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can prompt clients
XXX			
73	suggest, hedge	Traditional Education	tutors can allocate turns
74		Traditional Education	
75	ask question	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
76	answer	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
XXX			
84	question	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	tutors know best
85	answer, hedge		tutors can acknowledge uncertainty
XXX			
89	permit	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans, tutors can OK plans
90	dictate	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
XXX			

Figure 14 AW 1/30/97

Line	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client	C		C		C		C		C		C		C			
Tutor		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP													*			
Author	*		*		*		*									
Editor				*		*		*								
Scribe		*				*		*		*						
Oral comp	*		*				*									
SCHOOL																
Teacher				*				*		*		*		*		
Student +/-									+		+		+			
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		
Tutor	S		S		S		S		S		S		S			
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author		*		*		*		*		*		*				
Editor					*		*									
Scribe	*		*				*					*	*			
Oral comp		*		*		*		*								
SCHOOL																
Teacher									*		*		*			
Student +/-				+				+		+		+		+		
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Table 10 AW 1/30/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
140	dictate	Liberal Empowerment	tutor can serve as scribe
141	echo	Traditional Education	clients use computer
142	dictate, declare	Liberal Empowerment	clients own and control their work
143	affirm, permit	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients know best, tutor can OK plans
144	declare, hedge	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients own and control their work
145	question	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients know best, tutors can OK plans
146	agree	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose, tutors can initiate plans
147	question, permit	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose, tutors can offer choice
148	question	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose, tutors know best
149	prompt	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients can choose, tutors can offer choice
150	commit, hedge	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
151			
152	commit, hedge	Liberal Empowerment	clients can initiate plans
153	affirm, approve	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	tutors can OK plans
154	justify		clients know best
155	claim	Education	tutors know best
156	commit	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best, clients own their work
157	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
158			
159	affirm, claim	Education	tutors know best
XXX			

Figure 15 AW 2/25/97

Line	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	XXX	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190
SPEAKER																
Client	A		Jo		A		A			A		A		A		A
Tutor		S		S		S			S		S		S		S	
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
ADDRESSEE																
Client	All	A	A	All	All	A			A	All	A		A		A	
Tutor	S				S		S			S		S		S		S
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		+	-	+		+		+	

Figure 16 AW 2/25/97

Line	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	XXX	211	212	213	214	215
SPEAKER																
Client		A		Jo		Jo		Jo		Jo		A	Jo	A	Jo	A
Tutor	S		S		S		S		S							
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author						*		*		*		*		*	*	*
Editor							*		*							
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*	*			*							*		*		*
Student +/-													+			
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-	*						+			+			+			
ADDRESSEE																
Client	A		Jo		all		Jo		Jo			all	A	all	all	all
Tutor		S		S		S		S		S		S		S	S	S
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*						*		*							
Editor				*		*		*		*		*		*		*
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-	+				+											+
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-							+			+			+			

Figure 17 AW 2/25/97

Line	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	XXX	228	XXX	230	XXX	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client	Jo	A		Jo	A	Jo		Jo								
Tutor			S				S		S		S		S			
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*	*		*	*	*		*								
Editor							*		*							
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*	*		*		*		*								
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-							+									
ADDRESSEE																
Client	all	all		all		all	Jo	all	all		all		all			
Tutor		S		S		S										
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author							*		*		*		*			
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-	+	+		+		+		+								
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-													+	+		

Table 11 AW 2/25/97

LINE		Discourses	Ideologies
173	apologize	Therapeutic	
174	affirm	Therapeutic	clients need help
175	affirm	Therapeutic, Liberal Emp.	clients help each other, have valuable knowledge
176	explain, hedge	Therapeutic	tutors can acknowledge uncertainty
XXX			
177	declare	Therapeutic	clients know best
178	question, affirm	Therapeutic	clients know best
179	justify	Liberal Empowerment	clients deserve respect
XXX			
183	empathize, echo	Liberal Empowerment	clients deserve respect
184	claim, justify	Welfare Reform	clients deserve respect
185	empathize	Therapeutic	clients need help
186	justify	Welfare Reform	clients can interrupt tutors
187	empathize	Therapeutic	clients need help
188	justify	Welfare Reform	
189			
190	justify, claim	Welfare Reform	
XXX			

Table 12 AW 2/25/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
199	explain	Traditional Education	tutors can initiate plans
200	explain	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients know best
201			
202	agree	Traditional Education	tutors know best
203	claim, instruct	Traditional Education	tutors know best
204	claim, instruct	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
205	affirm	Liberal Emp., Therapeutic	tutors know best, clients know best
206	agree	Liberal Emp., Therapeutic	tutors know best, clients know best
207	affirm	Liberal Emp., Therapeutic	tutors know best, clients know best
208	claim, instruct	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
XXX			
211	claim, instruct	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
212	affirm	Therapeutic	
213	claim, instruct	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
214	begins claim	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
215	claim, instruct	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
216	claim, instruct	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
217	claim, instruct	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
218	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
219	claim, instruct	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
220	begins claim	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
221	claim, instruct	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best
222	affirm	Liberal Emp., Therapeutic	clients know best
223	agree with self	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
224	prompt	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can initiate plans, clients know best
XXX			
228	explain, claim	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients know best, tutors know best
XXX			
230	explain, claim	Liberal Emp., Trad. Education	clients know best, clients deserve respect
XXX			

Figure 18 AW 4/10/97

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	XXX	36	XXX	41	42	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client		C		C		Jo		C		C				C		
Tutor	Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac			Jac			Jac	
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author		*		*				*		*				*		
Editor	*		*		*		*		*			*			*	
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*						*		*							
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																
ADDRESSEE																
Client	C		C		C		C		C			C			C	
Tutor		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac				Jac		
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*		*		*		*		*			*			*	
Editor		*		*				*		*				*		
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-	+						+		+							
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-																

Figure 19 AW 4/10/97

Line	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		
Tutor	Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac			
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
ADDRESSEE																
Client	C		C		C		C		C		C		C			
Tutor		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		Jac		
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		

Table 13 AW 4/10/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
1	request	Liberal Empowerment	clients own and control their work
2	permit	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
3	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients own and control their work
4	question		
5	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
6			
7	answer	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best, clients own their work
8	permit	Education	tutors can OK client plans
9	claim, justify	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
10	justify	Liberal Empowerment	
XXX			
36	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	tutors can praise clients
XXX			
41	instruct	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
42	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	non-standard language is OK
XXX			
51	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
52	answer	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
53	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
54	answer	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
55	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
56	answer	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
57	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients can serve on board of directors
58	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients can serve on board of directors
59	inform	Liberal Empowerment	clients can serve on board of directors
60	question		
61	inform, ask	Liberal Empowerment	clients can serve on board of directors
62	answer		
63	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients and tutors can be friends
64	answer, commit	Liberal Empowerment	clients and tutors can be friends

Figure 20 AW 3/6/97

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client																
Tutor	S	S	S	S	G		G									
IDENTITIES						S		S								
AUTHORSHIP																
Author					*		*									
Editor				*		*		*								
Scribe				*				*								
Oral comp					*		*									
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*	*	*													
Student +/-																
Reader +/-				+		+										
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-		+	+	+												
ADDRESSEE																
Client	Jo	A	G	All		All		All								
Tutor					S		S									
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*		*	*		*		*								
Editor																
Scribe					*		*									
Oral comp						*		*								
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-	+	+	+													
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-		+	+	+												

Figure 21 AW 3/6/97

Line	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
SPEAKER																
Client		All		All		All		All	A		Ch		A		A	
Tutor	S		S		S		S			S		S		S		S
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author																
Editor	*															
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher	*		*		*		*			*		*		*		*
Student +/-		+		+		+		+	+		+		+		+	
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-			+		+		+			+		+		+		+
ADDRESSEE																
Client	All		All		All		All			All		A		All		A
Tutor		S		S		S		S	S		S		S		S	
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*															
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher		*		*		*		*	*		*		*		*	
Student +/-	+		+				+			+		+		+		+
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-			+				+			+		+		+		+

Figure 22 AW 3/6/97

Line	50	51	52	53	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
SPEAKER																
Client		G	Jo													
Tutor	S			S												
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author		*														
Editor	*															
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher				*												
Student +/-																
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-	+		+	+												
ADDRESSEE																
Client	All		All	All												
Tutor		S														
IDENTITIES																
AUTHORSHIP																
Author	*															
Editor																
Scribe																
Oral comp																
SCHOOL																
Teacher																
Student +/-				+												
Reader +/-																
Speller +/-																
Writer +/-																
FAMILY																
Sibling +/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-												

Table 14 AW 3/6/97

LINE	Speech Acts	Discourses	Ideologies
1	direct	Traditional Education	tutors can propose plans
2	suggest	Liberal Empowerment	tutors and clients can be friends
3	direct	Traditional Education	tutors can propose plans
4	claim, question	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	
5	claim, dictate	Lib. Emp., Therapeutic	clients know best, solidarity is important
6	echo, prompt	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
7	claim, dictate	Lib. Emp., Therapeutic	clients know best, solidarity is important
8	echo, question	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	tutors can propose plans, clients know best
XXX			
19	echo, claim	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	tutors can propose plans, clients know best
20			
21	permit	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
22	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
23	instruct, permit	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	tutors know best, clients know best
24	direct	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
25	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
26	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients know best
27			
28	justify	Liberal Empowerment	clients deserve explanations
29	affirm	Liberal Empowerment	clients can OK tutor plans
30	question	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
31	answer	Liberal Empowerment	clients can choose
32	justify	Liberal Empowerment	clients deserve explanations
33	justify	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best, tutors deserve explanation
34	hedge	Liberal Empowerment	tutors have limited jurisdiction
XXX			
50	admonish, claim	Lib. Emp., Therapeutic	clients deserve respect
51	admonish	Liberal Empowerment	clients deserve respect, clients know best
52	claim	Liberal Empowerment	solidarity is important
53	thank, affirm	Trad. Education, Liberal Emp.	clients know best, clients need help
XXX			

APPENDIX B

Selected Transcripts

1. Transcript of 11/26/96

[SCENE: Both the other tutor's group and our group are involved. I begin by saying that our group is pretty whipped. This is the workshop where we "group write" a poem using the repeating phrase "I am the one who. . . . On 12/3 I use this this group poem as a starting point for the AW.]

001 SWS:I'm just going to try out the tape thing. Uhm, it's been a long day for our group. I don't know about you guys. [light laugh].

002 Charlene: Yeah.

003 SWS: ( ).

004 Charlene: I think it's the weather.

005 SWS: Yeah, and I think coming out from the cold into the very ( ) heat.

006 Charlene:( ).

007 SWS: So we'll just do the best we can here. Uh, we were working in our group, uhm, with,uhm, verbs, uh, where you put the word "am" with it.

008 SWS:So, for instance, can I read from yours, [Avianca] can I read from your

009 Avianca: >> What is that?

010 SWS: This is [Reading] I am sinking in the river // Remember that? [Reading] I am running to my house.
[reading from A.'s poem]

011 Avianca: Oh, I have it right here.

012 SWS:(>>) [Reading] I am trying to go to the movies.

013 Avianca: [Reading] I am sinking, I am sinking in the river. I am running to my house. I am/ I am/ I am smaking [sic] to my,

I mean, I am smiling to my mother. I am trying to go to the movies. [a lot of background noise here.] I am/ I am grinning to, grinning at her.

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

016 SWS: But the idea here is that you get a rhythm going with the repeating, repeating, whaty we call the repeating elements. And it's a kind of poetry, uhm, here is another example of, uh, that, repeating element kind of poetry. OK? Uh, //

017 Avianca: [Reading] I am sewing a dress to wear to go

018 SWS: No, no , pass them around. [I am distributing copies of another poem.]

019 [Avianca is continuing to try to read her poem, the one she had just been reading. She is having difficulty reading it. At the same time, I am passing out another poem for everyone to read. Then I ask Charles to help Avianca read her poem.]

020 SWS: Charles, maybe you could help Avianca, with some of those words, just so we can keep the rhythm up.

[SCENE: Charles, Avianca, and I talk at the same time so I can't make out what is being said, here. Charles appears to be having trouble reading now, also.]

021 SWS: So, the idea is that when we were doing that, there was a rhythm that got going and you rather liked doing it because of that and that's one of the pleasures of poetry ( ) the repeating idea of poetry, uhm.

022 SWS: Maybe you could let Charles and Avianca look on with you. I thought I had made enough copies. ( ).

023 SWS: If you look at this, uh, poem, this is written by ( ). She writes up in Manchester, in a program like ours, OK? This

is (from) that book of writings I was telling this group about, uhm, but when I was speaking to this group over here

024 Avianca: >>You got more [copies] right there?

025 SWS: Yah, Avianca. I will find the sixth one [copy]. I just don't have it at the moment.

026 SWS: Uhm, but this group here might decide, this Authors Workshop might decide to put out a book also of writings, (you know) and that's down the line, but that's, that's what this is. So this is the same idea in that there is a repeat here, uh. [Reading from the anthology] I remember my sister had a little dog. [I read several more lines.] I remember I was in the street. I remember when I looked out the window. I remember when I went to New York. I remember when I bought a car. I remember when I went up the stairs.... So you can pick a pattern like that, just as a way to get started, uhm, (like) Avianca's pattern that she was using. This is a pattern (because of the) repeat. This is a way of, uhm, I remember that this is a way of writing your life story, too, in a very brief, short brief concise way, too, so that's another kind. And here's one more, (just to give you) an example, and then I thought, uhm, this is a way to do a self-portrait. //

027 SWS: Maybe, Georgia, you would read this out loud for us. ( ). // [I am getting out and passing around copies of what I've asked Georgia to read.] Ok, if you would read that out nice and loud and read it as if it's a song because uhm//

028 Georgia: Do you mean the top one?

029 SWS: Yeah, the one at the top. [Reading] I am the one who

030 Georgia: Ok

031 SWS: OK?

032 Georgia: [Reading] I am the one who [Georgia stops because she has trouble reading it.]

033 [SWS helps her.] [Reading] I am the one who likes to // have friends.

034 [Charles and SWS help Georgia.]

035 SWS:OK, Jolene, want to take over here?

036 Jolene: [Reading] I am the one who loves the truth. I am the one who loves my family.

037 SWS: OK, Charles?

038 Charles: [Reading] I am the one who loves to help/

039 Avianca: >> [Reading] everybody.

040 Charles: who loves to help everybody. / Continue?

041 SWS: Yah.

042 Avianca: You gotta do (   ).

043 Charles: Oh, oh, sorry. [Reading] I am the one who loves to help everybody. I am the one who / think about my, my, / so

044 SWS: [Reading] son's

045 Charles: son's

046 SWS: [Reading] future.

047 Charles: future.

048 SWS: >> OK? Eleanor, the next one. [I cut Charles off as he begins to read the next one.]

049 Eleanor: [Reading] I am the one (loves God.) I am the one my mother (   ).

050 SWS: OK. I thought that, these are just

066 Eleanor: That's what I'm saying.

067 [Side talk]

068 SWS: OK, who's going to start?

069 [Side talk between Avianca and Charles about copies that I handed out.]

070 SWS: I'm going to make sure that everyone gets copies. All you have to do now is go round the room and start off your statement, "I am the one who"

071 Eleanor: [Composing] I am the one who loves my children.

072 SWS: (>>) loves my children.

073 Eleanor: That's it for me.

074 SWS: Jolene, you're next. [Prompting] I am the one

075 Jolene: whom God wakes up (every) morning.

076 SWS: I can't hear ( )

077 Jolene: ( ) God wakes up in the morning.

078 SWS: OK, good. [I'm saying it as I write it on the board.] God wakes up in the morning.

079 SWS: Ok, Charles.

080 Charles: I am the one/ I am the one who first love myself.

081 Charlene: ( ).

082 Avianca: [Composing] I am the one who loves everybody. That's nice. Yeah.

083 SWS: I think it's pretty true, too. OK, [Saying as I write it on the board] [Prompting] I am the one who loves everybody.

084 Charles: ( ).

085 Avianca: >> [Composing] I am the one who loves to be friendly with everybody.

086 SWS: OK, Georgia? [Prompting] I am the one who

087 Charlene: C'mon Georgia

088 SWS: We're talking about you.

089 Georgia: Uh, oh. ( ).

090 SWS: You can pass. We'll come back around.

091 Charles: ( ).

092 Georgia. You'll need about 3 or 4 pages. [laughter].

093 SWS: [Prompting] I am the one who passes. (Want) to say that? No? OK.

094 SWS: Charlene, it's all right. We'll come back around. It's all right.

095 Charlene: [Composing] I am the one who loves my ( ).

096 SWS: [Prompting] I am the one who

097 Mary: >> I'd go for that too.

[A lot of overlapping talk here that I can't make out on the tape.]

098 SWS: Do you want the exact same one, Mary? [Prompting] I am the one

099 Mary: who loves my father"

100 SWS: [Echoing] one who loves my father.

101 Eleanor: ( ).

102 SWS: OK, now go round again. Eleanor?

103 Eleanor: (What?)

104 SWS: Go round again. OK, [Prompting] I am the one who (   ).

105 ?. ( ).

106 Eleanor: No, I'm not gonna say that one. [Composing] I am the one who (   ).

107 SWS: That's all right.

108 SWS: And Jolene?

109 Jolene: [Composing] I am the one who loves others and helping other people.

110 SWS: OK. [Prompting] I am the one who loves

111 SWS: OK, Charles?

112 Charles: Again?

113 SWS:Yes, (we're) going around again. We're (writing) up a storm here. /

114 Charles: [Composing] I am the one who loves to dance."

115 Mary: What'd he say?

116 Georgia: [Echoing] love to dance.

117 Mary: He's a good dancer.

118 SWS: All right.

123 SWS: Avianca?

124 Avianca: [Composing] I'm the one, I love, I love, I mean, I am the one I like to go to church and love God.
I'm [just] spoking [sic] for myself.

2. Transcript of 1/9/97

001 SWS: [To Avianca] Caroline can do these with you when she's finished with the reading, she can go over these. I wanted to do that the last time and we didn't have a chance.... [Client talk in the background.]

002 SWS: [to Charles and Jolene] I'm gonna go set up over here

003 ?: Yeah

004 SWS:...[speaking into tape recorder][This is] the tape of the Artists, the Authors Workshop for January 9, 1997.

005 Jolene:...how do you spell, was? Is it "W" "A" "S" ? was?

006 SWS: Yup.// [Jolene reads the piece she is composing, to herself, out loud but quietly.] And I'll put a word up here if you come to it and you don't know it, OK, Jolene?

007 SWS: [To Charles] Did you bring, did you bring any of your many volumes of work with you today? You maybe didn't know you were going to do this writing today? What do you want to work on?

008 Charles: I definitely want to get my, going on my, my book.

009 SWS: ...OK, now, had you started the chapter, you had said the last time, a long time ago before vacation that you wanted to do the chapter about being on the board [of directors of the agency]--or are you beyond that or (in) another place now?

010 Charles: No, I, / Let me get my book.//

[SCENE: Jolene reads out loud to herself again. Talk between me and Charles here also but I can't make any of it out from the tape.]//

011 SWS: [To Charles] Here's a pencil if you want to be able to erase.

012 Charles: Ok. Uhm./

013 SWS: Jolene is reading hers over to do as much correcting as she can, herself. (The good thing about the) correcting is that you can do a lot of it yourself.

014 Charles: Mmm-hmmm.

015 SWS: I think it's [the work he is looking for] in the front (of your notebook).

016 Jolene:...[Composing orally to herself and writing her words down] is in her ( ) babies// her babies/ babies ( ). I think ( ) she had the babies (at home), I think she had the babies, her babies

017 Charles:...(Oh it's been so long, I ever...)

[SCENE:Charles and SWS start looking for Charles's latest chapter of his life story.]

018 SWS: I don't think any of it, um...that I have any of it here, I have some of your other writing, [not] the life story, though. Uhm, let's see. [Charles and SWS are looking at the computer screen together here while they look for Charles's chapter.] This is about the fashion show and the first day at Park Street [School]. Now that might have been, um, part of the life story. /

019 Charles: No, that, that's a part of my ah/ you know that little book ( ) because I want to finish this one.

020 SWS: Take your time and we have until noon.

021 Charles: Yeah //

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

[SCENE: It's near the end of the workshop. I've been talking with Charles about his computer. I turn back to work with Jolene. Sam Brown and Charles have been talking about the computer also, and continue to do so while I have the following conversation with Jolene.]

657 SWS: So, uhm, do you want to keep working? You certainly may do that and I can type it and go over it like this. Is this helpful?...is this how you'd like me to do it?

658 Jolene: Yuh.

659 SWS: That's useful?...I put it in another color because I think it stands out. But you can see how much you got right!

660 Jolene: ( ). I'm finished with this.

661 SWS: Hmm?

662 Jolene: I'm finished with this.

663 SWS: OK, all right.

664 Jolene: ( ) I write enough.

665 SWS: OK, well, you wrote a lot today.

666 Jolene: ( )

667 SWS: OK, then I'll go over it [her piece]

668 Jolene: ( ) my mistakes.

669 SWS: >> And uhm, I'll do it before I leave

670 Jolene: ( ).

671 SWS: I'm going to type it in the correct way because that is what you wanted....

672 Jolene: ( ) other people (read it, make sure it's correct).

673 SWS: Correct, correct. [I'm echoing Jolene here.]

674 Jolene: ( )

675 SWS: It sounds intelligent now when you read it but for them to read it themselves, you're right it has to be correct, right, it has to be correct because it's hard to know what's in your mind. Right, yeh.

676 Jolene: Because sometimes/ they might see a word/ like// they will call that (broken English)...

677 SWS: Yeah

678 Jolene: That's the way (I speak)

679 SWS: << Speak it, yah, uh huh.

680 Jolene: They wouldn't understand it and they would call you ignorant ( ). (So you have to know how to spell it)...

681 SWS: That's right, you're absolutely right...You aren't ignorant but people might think that and they often do, it may be wrong of them to think that, but they do, you're right.

682 Jolene: ( ) so that they will understand

683 SWS: >> (that) you are right, yah

684 Jolene: ( )

685 SWS:...Unfortunately, that's the way it is.

686 Jolene: (I want to get the spelling so I can be writing) poetry....

687 SWS: >> Yes. Yeah, I have, I have, actually, I've pulled together some poetry (because) Avianca had shown some interest...Maybe on Tuesday, we could do some poetry.

688 Jolene: ( ).

[SCENE: Avianca has come over to the Authors Workshop table.]

689 SWS [to Avianca] This is the thing that you wrote out, I printed it out, I just wanted to show you that

690 Avianca: >> Ohh, that's nice.

691 SWS: I printed it out for you and then next Tuesday Jolene was saying she'd like to start working on some poetry and, uh, and you have already shown a, uhm, a tendency toward poetry [little friendly chuckle] in the way you speak and other things...on Tuesday, would you like to do that? I've pulled out some things [from a book I was using to plan Authors Workshop sessions] (in case) you wanted to work today. (I) pulled out some things about poetry so we'll do it on Tuesday.

692 Avianca: Oh, OK.

693 SWS: Would you like to do it?

694 Avianca: Yeah.

695 SWS: Do you remember we worked at the computer? That was last fall

696 Avianca: >> Yeah

697 SWS: And you wanted to change some lines around to make (a poem or quote we had read) better and (different).

3. Transcript of 1/16/97

061 SWS: So, Avianca, we need to, um, get a little something from you and >

062 Avianca:....(   ) like what?

063 SWS: >>....Oh, some, some more about, um, your, maybe, maybe your time in the convent or um, talk some more about growing up, like being in the open air, that type of thing. Let's get a few things down, then I'm going to print it out and each person will have something to do on their own and, OK, and I'll, you tell me and I'll write it in.

064 Avianca:...OK. [She begins dictating to me.] When I was seven years old I was in the convent.

065 SWS:...mmm-hmmm

066 Avianca: I went over there for two weeks....I went to the convent because I (hit) my sister (with a rock) I come (   ) to my sister [laughter] on the forehead right

067 SWS: >> Because [Saying as I type:] I hit my little sister on the forehead with a rock? [Checking with Avianca on the wording] I think we've probably all done that or been the little sister

068 Avianca: >> [Avianca continues dictating.] I, ah, I was supposed to be over there for two weeks.

069 SWS:...but, right? But [SWS prompting Avianca]

070 Avianca: (After two weeks, my mother came to get me).

071 SWS: After two weeks, my mother came to get me,...mmm-hmmm

072 Avianca: but I liked it so much, I didn't want to go back home. [Typing continues.]

073 SWS: OK. Well, that's a good place to,

074 Avianca: >> ( ).

075 SWS: >> You have some more?

076 Avianca: Yeah. I meet, I meet so many, so many (young ladies).

077 SWS:>> Whoops! I meet so many young ladies there, un-huh,

078 Avianca: >> I learn so many things, I ah, I learned to knit, crochet/

079 SWS: I probably have that spelled wrong

080 Avianca: >> (It not be the same thing) but

081 SWS: >> Yeah

082 Avianca: but,

083 SWS: >> knit, crochet

084 Avianca: >> ...um, what do you call, what do you call the other, the other things you- like on the little crosses?

085 SWS:(>>) cross stitch, cross stick or ( )

086 Avianca:(>>) Yeah

087 SWS:(>>)....cross stitch

088 Avianca: Yeah

089 SWS:(>>)...I have cross stitch, uh-huh, OK, well maybe that's

090 [Avianca starts her story, again.]

091 SWS: [Chuckles] Yeah, go ahead, I don't want to, yeah go ahead

092 Avianca: >> The only thing, we pray (so) much.

093 SWS:[Laughs]...OK, now all right, I'm going to stop with you right now and I'm going to print out Jolene's, ah, and Caroline can work with Jolene.

4. Transcript of 1/30/97

[SCENE: SWS has been talking to clients about what they'd like to do next. One unidentified client expresses his wish.]

008 SWS: >> Great. [To an unidentified client.]

009 SWS: Jolene, do you want to keep reading or do you want to do a little writing now?

010 Jolene: ( ).

011 SWS: And we [to Jolene] were going to spend some, a little more time on the G.E.D. too. Uh, so Jolene,

012 Jolene: (We could go over) some of these words ( )

013 SWS: [To Jolene] You'd like to work on some of the words. [Confirming Jolene's choice].

014 SWS: [To Avianca] Reading, do you want to do some more reading, or some writing?

015 Avianca: Whatever you all decide.

016 SWS: Well, it's ( ) really where, what you want to do

017 Avianca: (I'm not) choosy.

018 SWS: What do you feel like doin'? What do you feel like doin'?

019 Avianca: Whatever the group decides.

020 SWS: Well, I think some people are going to do one thing and some people are going to do something else.

021 Caroline: You can do math.

022 Avianca: ( ) want to do math./

023 SWS: Math.

BREAK IN THE TRANSCRIPT

059 SWS: That'll be good, we'll work, we need to work here because the computer's here, Caroline...Yeah. And uh you and Jolene and Avianca as long as she

060 Avianca: What am I going to do?

061 SWS: wants

062 Caroline: Want to do the words...

063 SWS: [To Jolene] Words or math? [Several people talking at once here. Hard to make it out.] Cause that's a way of continuing what you were

064 Jolene: OK

065 SWS: working on ( ). [Avianca laughing in the background]. If we can all be a little flexible that's ( )

066 Jolene: (Because) some of these words you don't find in, uh

067 SWS: You bet! ( ). That's right. That's right.

068 Avianca: ( ).[looking at a math worksheet]

069 SWS: Maybe take a minute also to get some coffee if you want

070 Avianca: Yeah, ( ) we take a minute to have some coffee.

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

[SCENE: Charles is dictating to me from the handwritten version of his piece as I type it into the computer.]

134 Charles: [Reading] The Browne's Family ...

135 SWS: OK, [Echoing] The Browne family

136 Charles: [Reading] Was very high class.

137 SWS: Oh, I remember that discussion we had about

138 Charles: >> high class

139 SWS: [Echoing] high class

140 Charles: "In those days." [Charles is still reading his piece out loud for me to type into the computer.]

141 SWS: In those days. [I say it as I type it in.]

142 Charles: days. That's it.

143 SWS: All right.

144 Charles: For now.

145 SWS: OK. Do you want to keep going on writing (in) your your [note]book and then we'll put it in here. [the computer].

146 Charles: Yes.

147 SWS: ( ). Keep talking or keep writing?

148 Charles: What shall I do?

149 SWS: Either way.

150 Charles: OK, I can, I can, uhm

151 SWS: ( )

152 Charles: OK, I can, uhm, I can talk it and then

153 SWS: >> Yeah. All Right.

154 Charles: And then (we will have)

155 SWS: >>I think that's a very good way of

156 Charles: starting.

157 SWS: Yeah.

158 Charles: ( ).

159 SWS: Do both. I mean you know, that's good. OK, so

160 Charles: Uhm
[SCENE: Charles recommences dictating to me as I type the piece into the computer.]

161 SWS: [Prompting] So, The Browne family was very high class in those days.

162 Charles: in those days." [Charles continues but now he is composing extemporaneously.] Uhm // Miss Browne

163 SWS: Do you want to say Mistress again or?

164 Charles: Yeah, Mistress Browne.

165 SWS: OK [I type.]

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

177 Charles: What I want to do as soon as I draw/ as soon as I make a book, I want to send one to my mom.

178 SWS: Oh, yeah! Yeah!

179 Charles: [Laugh] It really a surprise. I know some of the things, like the first part here.

180 SWS: Hmm,mmh.

181 Charles:I just had that in, you know, out of my head and then, you know, because I didn't know how they meet.

182 SWS: So that, you made that up.

183 Charles: Yes, I made that.

184 SWS: OK, so she'll know you made that up because she knows what the real story is.

185 Charles: (>>) What the real story is.

186 SWS:Oh, OK

187 Charles: But sometime it's good for not to put, you know, I don't know, but I think it's good because sometime (you) get offended using the real

188 SWS:(>>) Yeah, right

189 Charles: You know, the real stuff

190 SWS:When you [do] an autobiography, it's (   ).

191 Charles: (   ) hope that somebody's going to read it.

192 SWS: Yeah, put it in the way (   )

193 Charles: Yeah.

194 SWS: Also when you write about real people and they're still alive, it's good to show them what you've written too.

195 Charles:Yeah, yeah, though my father has, you know, passed on

196 SWS: Yeah, that's right

197 Charles: and my grandmother is also.

Break in the Transcript

[SCENE: SWS and Charles talking about his piece.]

225 SWS: (   ) OK, we saved the new stuff in your file. And you also saved we didn't really do anything to that other one, I don't think./ So what's it going to be? You want to work a little more or you want to get rolling? It's your choice. It's really your choice.

226 Charles: ( ) go xerox that and ( )

227 SWS: No, yeah, I can't do it.

228 Charles: Oh.

229 SWS: But, anytime, whatever you want, Charles. Really and truly, it's your choice.

230 Charles: Yes.

231 SWS: Sometimes people say it and they don't really (mean it.)

232 Charles: OK. What I'm going to do

233 SWS: OK.

234 Charles: I'm gonna continue from where I started there the last (time). I'm going to continue writing it. I'm going to take all this and put it in that [note]book.

235 SWS: OK. All right.

BREAK IN TRANSCRIPT

5. Transcript of 2/11/97

[Avianca has just finished reading a section of her interview. SWS praises her reading.]

061 Avianca: That was good, that was good. I speak for my, for my...

062 Avianca: OK, go ahead. [Spoken to Jolene who has said something inaudible on the tape.]

063 Jolene: That was good that you wrote that too. That's the same ( ). I didn't leave my kids with anybody either. And even though my mother ( ), I had the kids. I stayed at home. ( ). And I stayed at home with my kids. Been there with them. I didn't leave them with anybody ( ).

064 Avianca: You know what, I wish this conversation [Transcribed interview], in the future, in the future, I mean ( ) and my social workers read this, in the future, you know.

065 Jolene: ( ).

066 SWS: Why should they read it in the future? They should read it now! [Said emphatically.]

067 Avianca: [To SWS] Whenever, whenever! You know, to see how, you know, I explain my feelings in here, you know

068 Avianca: [Addressed to clients] And maybe they [the social workers will] understand us. Us. All of ( ). And we ( ) not our teachers, us, we trying to ( ).

069 SWS: That's the important

070 Avianca: [To other clients] Our teachers are trying to help us, you know, spend the time with us.

071 Caroline: Do the social workers ever ask about your early life?

072 Avianca: No

073 Caroline: Or they just deal with

074 Avianca: >> No, no.

075 Caroline :things as they are now?

076 Avianca: No, they don't care.

077 SWS: [To Caroline] What if she just Xeroxed, couldn't we Xerox this right out of the book

078 SWS: [To Avianca] and you could (bring it) to him or her?

079 Avianca: I think I'm going to take this, I'm going to take this book and I'm going to show

080 SWS: (<<) Just take this book

081 Avianca: it to my social worker.

082 SWS: You can say, I'm in a book too. [I'm talking at the same time as Avianca and it's my voice I mostly hear on the tape not hers. Avianca mentions the name of her social worker, Beatrice.] Would you do that? I think that's a good idea.

6. Transcript of 2/20/97

[We have just been working on math. SWS and Charles are discussing what he will do in the time left.]

001 SWS: What time do you actually have to leave this building?

002 Charles: I have to leave this building about 25, about 25 after ( ) just to walk up and catch the bus.

003 SWS: Yeah. There isn't any time for you to do any work on your life story.

004 Charles: Did you (find the chapter?)

005 SWS: I haven't, I was going to try and do that, uhm, today. ( )

006 Charles: Yeah, because you know what I needed to do, (I need to go through the last chapter.)

007 SWS: [To Charles] Right.

[SCENE: Break in the transcript here where other clients are talking and doing math. Then,Charles and I talk about his sewing work, his job at the warehouse, and his new girlfriend and her son and how busy he is and that he does not have enough time for all these demands.]

008 Charles:...Because I have to, like, leave work ( ) from work, school, from school back home.

009 SWS: Hm, uhm. [Yes.]

010 Charles: and so, I don't need nothing else.

011 SWS: Yeah.

012 Charles: to take up my time. I need everything ( ) I need to sit down (go

on) my computer take up a book, start doing some school work (   ) When I'm tired of that, then (   ) get up and go to the machine [and do some sewing]. That's how I want my, that's how I plan (my time). Other than that this ain't gonna work.

013 SWS: Charles, let me ask you something, uhm, are you getting homework from, uh, the teacher over at, the tutor over at Oak St.

014 Charles: No, I have to make my own (work).

015 SWS: Would you want to get homework, do you want homework from here?

016 Charles: Yes.

017 SWS: As a way to kind of direct

018 Charles:[softly] yeah

019 SWS: your time

020 Charles: Yes, because right now (   ) so that when I go back to class, I can uhm,// OK, there was a girl there, right? Who is doing uh, uhm

021 SWS: Who is the teacher? Is it Anna?

022 Charles:(I don't know her name)

023 SWS: She's short, with, uhm, brown hair, she's very nice with glasses.

024 Charles: Yes, she's very nice.

025 SWS: She's the, actually she's the head of the Reading Center, (   ).

026 Charles: No, not

027 SWS: (   ) tutor

028 Charles: No, not her, Anna, uh, uh, not her (   ) Anna. No, this girl, she's having problems with her son. (   ) So, I

came up with this idea of my own. That I'm gonna kind of write / that she's asking me questions, what should she do (what she must tell her son in Jamaica) and, then, I'm gonna answer ( ).

029 SWS: Yah, OK, so, a dialogue?
030 Charles: Yeah.

031 SWS: OK

032 Charles: (So) I'm going to answer it back ( ) and take it back to her.

033 SWS: OK

034 Charles: So I've planned ( )

035 SWS: That's your homework

036 Charles: work, homework and I'll get a copy and show it to you. You know, when I come back to school.

037 SWS: OK

038 Charles: ( ) school, Tuesday or

039 SWS: ( ) When you're going to come back Thursday

040 Charles: Thursday

041 SWS: So, uh, there's a writing that you're working on

042 Charles: Yeah

043 SWS: for the other class, ok, uh, And do you want some homework from this class?

044 Charles: Yes.

045 SWS: What do you think you need most for homework?/

046 Charles: (OK) What I need from my homework ( ) that book, [a notebook in which Charles is writing his life story] say,

if I can get like, uh, (   ) and you know, write the other sentence that I supposed to do so that (   ). I cannot do no more writing until I get that

047 SWS:>> OK. Right. So this, those are both, you want to be able to do some writing at home

048 Charles: Yeh. (So) if you can tell me, if you can just look at it and tell me the last chapter.

049 SWS: Yah.

050 Charles:(   ) Then I can

051 SWS: (   ) typewrite it before I go. Because I don't have access to this unless I come (here to school)[Charles overlaps with me here]

052 Charles: Well, if you can just tell me right now the last paragraph of that writing

053 SWS: Oh, OK.

054 Charles: Then I can continue it (   )

055 SWS: (>>) Do you have time to do it? It's 20 past.

056 Charles: Yeah. I just need to hear the last

057 SWS: >> (All right.) And as far as other homework that's not writing homework, uh, you think about what you might want to (have).

058 Charles: Yeah.

059 SWS: Because I think Jolene is going to want to start having homework (too) / All right. Here's what you had last time.

060 Charles: I just want the last

061 SWS: >> Yup.

062 Charles: paragraph.

063 SWS: It kind of primes the pump, right?

064 Charles: Yuh, ( ) so I can write [so] when I come,

065 SWS: Uh, huh.

066 Charles: I can just put it ( ).

[SCENE: SWS reads from the last paragraph of a chapter of Charles's life story which he has been working on for over a year. The tape ends while SWS is reading the chapter.

7. Transcript of 2/25/97

173 Avianca: Out with me. C'mon. Give me a break. [little chuckle]. I'm sorry (because) I'm talking to you [about] my problems.

174 SWS: Well, you have to get it off your chest and everyone has something. (If we) can't talk to each other then

[Overlapping talk by Jolene and Avianca difficult to make out. My voice can be heard more clearly. The gist is that it's ok with everyone.]

175 Jolene: (No) I know how it is.

176 SWS: I think in the old days there was more chance to sit around and talk and now everybody's isolated. I don't know. More isolated? Off in your own world?

177 Avianca: . . .Especially a lady grow his [sic] kids by herself; to be the mother, and to be the father . . .Let me tell you, it's a (whole), let me tell you, it's a cross full of nails on top of your back. [Said emphatically]

178 SWS: Lonely too? Lonely to do it

179 Avianca: (>>) (I did it) by myself. . . .My oldest daughter was, my oldest daughter was fourteen years old / when

180 SWS: (>>) ( )

181 Jolene: (old she was)

182 Avianca: Yeah, my oldest, the one who is 35 now. And she was 14 years old when (I) divorced.

183 SWS: Oh.[softly] So you've been on your own.

184 Avianca: And then I be on my own, working hard./ ( ). I only be on the state 7

years. 7 years I was [am] on the state. OK? 7 years. I ain't gonna lie. (7 years.)

185 SWS: But you were

186 Avianca.: >> Because I got sick

187 SWS: carrying a lot of kids when you were?

188 Avianca:>> I got sick.

189 SWS: (You always)

190 Avianca: (I got sick) because working so hard, carrying all that responsibility by myself. But I was on the state ( ). He [her ex-husband] was sending me support. (That's) the one thing I can say about my "ex." He support his kids all the way up ( ).

191 SWS: There sure are a lot of people who don't understand what really goes on.

192 Jolene: Hmm, hmm.

193 SWS: They don't really understand what really happens.

194 Jolene: (Hmm,hmm)

195 Avianca: (That's one thing) I can say, he (was responsible with his money for his children). ( ) I did it on my own.

196 Jolene:Hmm, hmm.

197 SWS: (Well)

198 Avianca: (Try) to raise them in a good way. Oh, my God, it's a lot of /

199 SWS: Well, we sure did, uh, take off from this / (We're here) for each other. That's OK. OK, so, uh, Thursday

200 Avianca: A little reading, a little writing, and a little talking.

201 SWS: ( ).

202 Jolene: Hmm, mmh.

203 SWS: It's important too. Learning is important ( ).

204 Jolene: (See) people don't understand. They got their own opinion about things. And we got our own opinion about it. Because they don't know what you're going through

205 SWS:>> You've had the experience

206 Jolene: Yup

207 SWS: too, Jolene,

208 Jolene: And it's not like something that happen to them ( ).

209 Avianca: Sometimes we say, oh, oh, she got it easy because she got it all, you know

210 Jolene:( )

211 Avianca:>> ( ) But we all, we all suffer

212 Jolene: >> That's right

213 Avianca: >> Because we all, we all live in this earth

214 Jolene: >> See

215 Avianca: >> (We) all suffer

216 Jolene: >> See, (people don't) realize

217 Avianca: >> In different ways, right?

218 SWS:Hmm,mmh.

219 Jolene: that, that God help them to get (up there). The same way that God helped them to get up there, he'll put them in a wusser [worser] fix.( ). (You) be mean and cruel

220 Avianca: >> You know what?

221 Jolene:it comes around

222 SWS:(>>) comes around again.

223 Jolene: Yup.

224 SWS: (Do you think we could) talk (at) some time about how to, to get the stories into the hands of people who do not know what it [sic] is really going on and who need to know what is really going on.

225 Jolene: (They don't) know and they (don't)

226 SWS: >> So, (   ) I, I, hope, I think that's a useful thing to try to do.

227 Jolene: And you have (peoples)

228 SWS: Your story

229 Jolene:(   )

230 SWS: >> can help uhm educate people who are makin decisions, uh, that will affect other people.

231 ?: (   )

232 SWS: I'm not saying every word on the tape (   ).

233 Avianca: (   ) help other people, uh, you know, like do different things, different things, (   ) I can learn from somebody else

234 SWS: >> You learn from other people and they learn from yours [said over end of Avianca's comment above and obscuring the rest of what she said]

235 SWS: [To Avianca and Jolene] But, then I think there are people who are making decisions about all of our lives, particularly

your lives, who should hear these stories and know what's happening (   ).

236 Jolene: (   )

237 SWS: Yeah.

238 Jolene: (A lot of times)...(   ) people (   ) they looking down on you because (you don't have that education). Don't look down on me. If you ain't got nothing nice to say about me, don't say nothing about me at all.

239 Avianca: (   )

240 Jolene: (an encouraging word). That's the same way with me. If I ain't got something nice to say about somebody, why say something (   )?

241 SWS: Well, that makes you a better person, that you don't say it....

8. Transcript of 3/6/97

001 SWS:[To Jolene] All right, you can just turn your chair around, uh, Jolene, and . . .[There is talking in the background.]

002 SWS: And Avianca, do you want to bring a comfortable chair? [Sound of furniture moving and talk in the background.] ( ). Pull up a chair//a chair. [Long pause]

003 SWS: All right.// Here you go, Georgia. ( ) [Showing her a place to sit]

004 SWS: All right. This is what we have so far. . .Uh. [I read from a draft written earlier in the month and type the words from the draft into the computer as I read. There is some background talk while I read and type.] [Reading] We are disappointed that you left the names of two of our students out of the article about the "Reading Wrap Up" at Park School.
[Then I initiate a discussion of the draft.] You know,it isn't "our students" because you're writing it, we're all writing it together. So ( ). Does this make more sense? [Talk in background as I type in new wording.] So what do you want to say now? [Reading] All three spoke /

005 Georgia: Only one was mentioned.

006 SWS : OK. [Reading] Only one student, however, was mentioned. ( ). OK. / Uhm, now what? [prompting] Only one was mentioned in the article/

007 Georgia: We feel that the other two /should have been mentioned. [Dictated with some finality.]

008 SWS: [I type, saying the words out loud as I do.] Now, (now, something else you've all said) would work here [Reading] If what all of us had said had been reported (in the newspaper) other adults would be inspired to learn to read. All right. And then, I think I remember, uh, someone saying, "It's never too

late." (Do you want) to put that in here?// Uhm, but maybe there something ( ). [Reading after I have typed the new sentence in] If what all of us had said were in he paper, other adults ( ).

009 [Background talk.]

010 SWS: ( ) Do you think this is enough? //

011 ?: ( ).

012 SWS : Enough?

013 SWS: Avianca, do (we have) enough here?

014 Avianca: Yeah.

015 SWS: Or we'll be here til Sunday, ( ) is that what you're saying?

016 [Clients and tutor Laugh.]

017 Jolene: So we all (agree?)

018 Georgia: Yeah. ( ).

019 SWS: And it's never too late. That's Ray, I think Ray said that. [I type. Then I say something about how it's good to put that in because it shouldn't be an entirely critical letter.] All right...[I type.// Then I ask who should sign it, just the students or me as well.] I don't have to have my name on it.

020 Clients:( ).

021 SWS: I can put it on if you want it.

022 Clients: Yes (because).

023 SWS: I'll tell you something...[Here, I explain that the newspaper calls you to verify that the letter was actually written by the purported author.] Now, I can give, (put)

your phone numbers in. Or I can put my phone number in./

024 Clients: Put your phone number.

025 SWS: Would you rather

026 Clients: >> Yeah.

027 Avianca:( )

028 SWS: I mean, that would be the reason.

029 Charlene: Hmm,mm. [Yes].

030 SWS: Avianca, my phone number or your phone number?

031 Avianca: Your phone number.

032 SWS: Because the Hampton Digest will call.

033 Avianca: You are the head, you are the head (of the group).

034 SWS: In this little enterprise [only].

035 Jolene:( ).

036 SWS: Yah,

037 Charlene: Hummm,mm. [yes].

038 SWS: That's right. [Here, I read out loud the whole text that's on the computer screen so far.]

039 Georgia: Maybe you should mention should put, put, uh Jolene and Avianca's name up there.

040 SWS: Ahhh,

041 Georgia: saying that those are the two students you left out. See, we're saying, "You left two students out"

042 SWS: We didn't say which ones!

043 Georgia: And we have all these names here. And they don't know which one.

044 SWS: Yah.

045 Avianca: Avianca, Avianca Bryce and, Jolene (   ), you know.[Avianca is dictating the names to add here.]

046 SWS:(I'll put that in.) Yah.

047 Georgia. You know, so they know which two students(   ).

048 SWS: The other two (   ). Good for you! That's good, Georgia. (   ).
[I type Jolene and Avianca's names into the text of the letter, talking as I type.]

049 [Avianca reads her name and Jolene's as I write them in.]

[Background talk.]

050 SWS: (Whatever they do),they better print it!

051 Georgia: They better print it right (   ). [Chuckling] Go back to school And learn right!// How to print it out right! (   )

052 Jolene: Because we all gotta stay together, that's how come I say we all want to be in agreement because (   ). [Said rapidly.]

053 SWS: (>>) Thank you all. I think we did /a good thing for everybody.

9. Transcript of 4/10/97

001 Jackie: [To Charles] Can I correct things

002 Charles: Yes

003 Jackie: as I see them? // Why don't you want to say ( ) took on the name Prince Lightning?

004 Charles: Huh?

005 Jackie: You don't want to say it yet?

006 [Jolene makes a little sound here.]

007 Charles: Yeah, not yet.

008 Jackie: OK

009 Charles: I'm gonna put it (here) but / because if you notice (I'm) writing ( ) start out "The Life of Frederick Browne" (and it) continues, uhm

010 Jackie: ( ) otherwise you're skipping over to your life (rather than) continuing.

011 Charles: Yes. / / Because I talk a little bit about //

[SCENE: Jolene can be heard in the background quietly reading over her piece as she composes.]

012 Jolene: (Can you spell) wrestling? Wrestling? [She repeats the request a little bit louder each time but her voice is very soft.]

013 Jackie: "Wrestling"? like //
[Jackie is writing the word out for Jolene.] That's a hard one because it starts with a silent letter.//It starts with a "w". All right and what's the second letter? /You can hear it.

014 Jolene: (R). Wres, Wrestling.

015 Jackie: R.

016 Jolene: R?

017 Jackie: W R . Now we have a vowel. You know the vowels are A, E, I, O, or U.

018 Jolene A.(?)

019 Jackie: No, "wreh," "eh" E.

020 Jolene: E?

021 Jackie: Now we have a letter, wrest [emphasis on the t.] wrestling,[emphasis on the t.]

022 Jolene: "T."

023 Jackie: "wresling." S. S.

024 Jolene: S. (OK.)

025 Jackie: I think there is a "t" now.

026 Jolene: "Wrest"

027 Jackie: "Wres."I don't hear the "t" but I'm sure there is a "t." "Wrestling." Yes, there's a "t." "T." And, then, "l i n g."//

028 Jolene: Wrestling.

029 Jackie: Wrestling.

030 Jolene: I think my trouble is when I (see) the letter, I don't get / all this down.

031 Jackie:>> That's why I'm working with you. That's all right. It's really hard, / particularly if it doesn't sound the way it's really spelled.

032 Jolene: And I be, I think that's why I be getting mixed up a lot. Cause I don't, I say it but I, I don't get all the sounds.

033 Jackie: You'll get it in time. //

034 Jolene asks for another word.

035 [Jackie spells it for her with some lesson talk added in.]

036 Jackie: [To Charles] I like the word "puss" because that's a word you would use in Jamaica.

037 Charles: Yeah.

038 Jackie: You switched it to cat up there, (though).

039 [Charles explains he wants to put "cat" in.]

040 [Jackie agrees it's a good idea.]//

041 Charles: [That's how we talk] in Jamaica.

042 Jackie: I like this, [Reading] I saw the fire gash [a clause in Charles's life story] which you put now as flash// [Jackie asks Charles about a name in his story.]

043 Jolene: [To Jackie] It's hard for me to get this word, "cartoon." [Jolene pronounces it "cahtoon."]

044 Jackie: What word?

045 Jolene: Cahtoon. Cahtoons, like

046 Jackie: >>All right now there's this cah sound. It can either begin with a "c" or with a "k". And in this case, it begins, it begins with a "c." Now, listen to it. It has the little word "car" in it.

047 [Jolene spells the word correctly.]

048 Jackie: Way to go...Don't ask me why there are 2 "o"s. That's just the way it is.

049 [Jackie helps Jolene with another word, this time a name, Daniel.]

050 [Jolene explains to Jackie that she used to know it but forgotit.]

051 Jackie: [To Charles] Whose office is that back there? Is that, uh,

052 Charles: Laurie's.

053 Jackie:Laurie? Is that Laurie who just walked out?

054 Charles: No, that's, uhm, that's (the secretary).

055 Jackie: And is Laurie here today?

056 Charles: No, she's (not coming, she's coming) today because I wanted to see her ( ).

057 Jackie: Are you going to the Board meeting this afternoon?

058 Charles: This afternoon? [very softly]

059 Jackie: 4:30 //

060 Charles: Today's what day?

061 Jackie: Thursday. Can you go? Or are you working? /

062 Charles: (working)/

063 Jackie: Do you want me to tell them that you're going to try to get there?

064 Charles: Yes, I'll try, I'll try. ( ). [quiet chuckle]

065 Jackie: Now what are you doing (there)? [Jackie turns her and Charles's attention back to his writing.]

APPENDIX C

Transcription Conventions

( )	can't make out from the tape
(was)	best guess at what's being said
[ ]	comments made by researcher
>>	interruption
(>>)	overlapping talk
/	pause, less than 15 seconds
//	pause, more than 15 seconds
...	material deleted

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